

Galg Fe. *H. Hargrave.*
A

R E V I E W
OF THE
Proposed Naturalization
OF THE
J E W S;
B E I N G

A dispassionate Enquiry into the present
State of the Case.

With some Reflexions on

GENERAL NATURALIZATION.

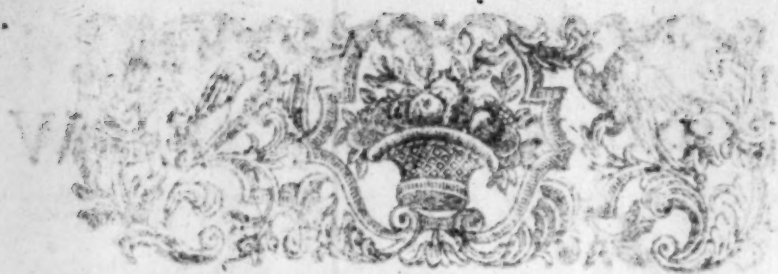
The THIRD EDITION, corrected and enlarged,
with several Additions.

By *J. H. Merchant.* *K*

L O N D O N:

Sold by DODSLEY in *Pall-Mall*, MILLAR, NOURSE,
and VAILLANT in the *Strand*, and WAUGH in
Lombard-street. 1753.

19



Proposed by the
TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

J. H. P. Esq.



**MUSEVM
BRITANNICVM**



author to pay honor to the
patron, and at the same time
to do justice to himself and
his subject. Persons in your
station are seldom courted
by the public.



TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
H. P. Esq;

SIR,



Ddresses of this kind are of so singular a nature, it is difficult for the author to pay honor to the patron, and at the same time to do justice to himself and his subject. Persons in your station are seldom courted
A 2 with

iv DEDICATION.

with any homage, which is
consistent with the nature of
opposition.

THE manner in which I
dissent, may however induce
some to imagine, that instead
of pleading my cause with
zeal, I only make it an occa-
sion to offer incense to your
power. Unhappy people,
whose deviations from virtue
have rendered so much de-
pendent on *one*, yet will hard-
ly believe *he* can be entitled
to the tribute of disinterested
praise! Have the Great in of-
fice no title then, to the en-
joyment of the true preroga-
tive

DEDICATION. v

tive of substantial merit? We know that there is *no person* without many imperfections; and shall we not make great allowance for *men in public life*? If, upon the whole, the virtuous scale preponderates; as we have good reason to believe, we shall *receive* favor *hereafter*; we ought most certainly to *show* it *here*. And what just grounds are there to imagine, that the happiness of this nation is not the prime object of your ambition?

WITH regard to the subject of this pamphlet; is it
to

vi DEDICATION.

to be conceived that Mr. P— could entertain a single thought of favoring the *Jews*, but as such favor might advance the *general welfare*? the conclusion then is very plain, that the *moderation* and *benevolence*, by which he is so much distinguished, were his chief inducements to subscribe to this measure.

WHETHER the end proposed can be answered, is what we are now to consider. But we shall never discover the truth, if under a notion of *opposing* unpopular measures, we become the *dupes* of a party

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party interest. To *correct*, in some instances, argues greater sagacity than the not *committing mistakes*. In the *first case* we generally struggle with a strong prepossession: In the *last*, the supposed wisdom oftentimes arises from no better cause than a supine inactivity.

BUT whilst other men are gratifying their inclinations *in their way*, I have as good a right to indulge myself *in mine*. I am constant to my principles and opinion, with regard to the matter in debate, yet I have not the less
plea-

viii DEDICATION.

pleasure in declaring my *ve-*
neration of your character,
and the *sincere respect* with
which I am,

SIR,

your most obedient

humble servant,

Tunbridge-Wells,
August 5, 1753.

J. H.

P R E.



PREFACE.



THE examination of the Jews being now ended, we must leave it to our Judges to sum up the evidence, and give that sentence which shall appear to them most equitable.

The first edition of this small treatise was printed during my absence abroad; I had therefore no opportunity of correcting the press. The second, having also the same fortune, neither had I an opportunity of making any addition, except that of a note or two, which I sent from Amsterdam.

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On

On my return home I find a pamphlet, entitled, "Considerations on the bill, &c" published soon after the first edition of this tract. There is a passage in it * levelled against my book, with regard to the residence of the Jews in Amsterdam and Paris. Indeed it gave me but mean impressions of the Jewish cause, that of the many arguments and Facts I had advanced, only this circumstance should be mentioned. I have now explained what the author is pleased to call Notorious Falshoods; and as the Considerations have been answered with great force of argument, supported by scripture and authentic records, I have only to observe, that, as I can with great veracity say, humanly speaking, my own mind has never been the least inflamed with anger,

* Considerations, p. 55.

ger, or malevolence upon this subject; so I apprehend, I have not administered fuel to the passions of other men.

It ought to be presumed that truth is the great object pursued: Whatsoever is foreign to truth, must be equally foreign to justice, and the integrity of the mind. From the moment we descend to calumny and personal reproach, there is just grounds to suspect either that the cause espoused is bad; or that those who plead for it are ill qualified for their business; and only mean to divert us from the discovery of the truth. Who is, and who is not, an upright man, a good subject, and a lover of his country; is foreign to what is, or what is not, the rule of right reason in a particular case. We may learn however from the incident before us, how apt mankind are, in the foolishness of their

hearts, to be led astray by the informations of those whose Interest it is to deceive; whose minds are too disingenuous to represent things as they are ; or too weak to make observations with any propriety. Thus men are betrayed to act an unwarrantable part, or we certainly never should have seen such rash, ill-grounded, and immodest accusations, as are contained in the Considerations abovementioned.

*The intimate knowledge I have of the Remonstrance, so far as it relates to the Portugal merchants, and in what manner their solicitation was conducted, makes me bold to say; that I am sure the actors are removed, the farthest possible, from the least tincture of that appearance, of the reality of which they are challenged by the considerations. But what shall we say? Is it because our passions ever
blend*

blend themselves with our reason; or that the corruption of the World hath rendered it extremely difficult, for men to believe well, even of their fellow citizens, with regard to the motives of their actions? There is however one simple maxim which common observation teaches us; "that those who are most disposed to think injuriously of their neighbour, have generally the least virtue themselves."

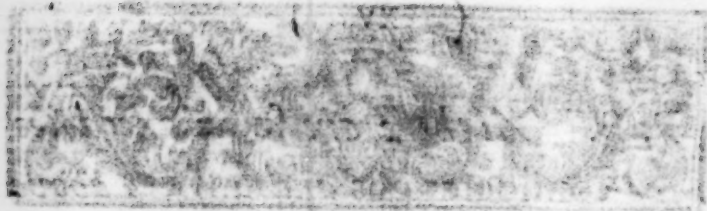
If every fable should have its moral, every real and important event in life ought to have some instructive application also. Those who are accustomed to think, will make it for themselves. Those who are averse to serious reflexion, if it was made for them, it would signify very little. Upon the whole, let us offer the incense of gratitude to heaven, that we have a prince on the throne who is a man
of

of integrity, and a lover of his people: *That his ministry, though subject like other men to human infirmities, mean to promote the welfare, the opulence, the grandeur of this nation; that this very measure in question, which we apprehend was a mistake in politics, is, notwithstanding, a proof of this assertion. We have also had an opportunity of seeing, that we have yet among us, no small remains of the spirit of liberty, without faction; of independency, without the contempt of laws; of religion, without levity or hypocrisy. And that amidst all our corruption and immoralities, we do generally endeavor to understand what our real interest is, and when we examine it thoroughly, do pertinaciously adhere to that which we think right.*

London, Nov. 10.
1753.

P. S. *As there are some anecdotes in the considerations and answer above mentioned which confirm the principles I have adopted; and others which illustrate some historical passages, at which I had only hinted, I thought it proper in this edition to examine them fully, so that this piece might, as far as I am able to improve it, be rendered the more compleat.*





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IN GREAT BRITAIN

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Page 76. Line 3. for spacious read specious.

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CHAP. VII.
A
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OF THE
Proposed Naturalization
OF THE
JEW S, &c.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. General reflexions on naturalization. The expediency of attending to our domestic Oeconomy, to answer the end proposed by Naturalization.



WE have now had time to consider the arguments on both sides the question, relating to the naturalization of the

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Jews.

Jews. On the *one side* we have seen several matters advanced as *facts* which are really *no facts*; and several mistakes have been entertained with regard to the *supposed importance* of the *Jews*. The argument hath been also treated in a light manner, and with little attention to the *importance* of the subject. Instead of a sober and steady remonstrance, we have also seen a *spirit of clamor* conjured up; and as a natural effect of it, much hath been thrown out, as little consistent with our character, as a *polite* and *humane* people; as injurious to the tenderness which *christianity* inspires. I speak of that part which has been really handled in an improper manner, and not of every thing which hath been said on either side of the question.

As the *different* views and interests of men, lead them *different* ways; they are apt to swerve from the real merit of their cause; as if they meant from *false* extremes to find out the *true* medium. To this purpose one may observe an humorous remark in a letter lately addressed to the public, concerning the *marriage bill*. In this piece, which seems to be wrote by a very able penman, lawyer, and logician, the author supposes an application to parliament, to be made by fan-stick-makers, (whose employment is of late fallen off) concluding, that *they* would be as strong in their expressions of danger to the *religion, liberty, and commerce* of their country, as the remonstrances have been against the *naturalization* of the *Jews*. These people being under such particular

circumstances with regard to their customs, manners, and religion; the subject of *their* naturalization hath of course been treated in a very different manner, from that of any design of the like nature, with respect to *christians*, and consequently it must produce many new thoughts and enquiries.

Before I proceed any further, I will be bold to say, that I not only imagine the bill in question will not produce any *bad effect*; but I believe it will produce a *good one*. In the *first place* I take it for granted, that *no few* will be naturalized in consequence of it; and in the *second*, that the *Jews* themselves will have the wisdom never to make so *absurd* a request again. But whether these I supposed effects will arise from the *clamor* made against the *Bill*, or from
some

some better cause; it must be clear, that no man of sentiment, nor any lover of his country, ought ever to wish, much less to solicit, that clamor might prevail without reason; nor, if we could substitute any consistent rule of conduct in its place, that it might ever prevail at all.

To consider things at large, I must observe, that some of the warmest advocates for the *naturalization* of the *Jews*, having pleaded with no less zeal for a *general naturalization*, when this subject was before the parliament; it was once imagined, and not without foundation in the reason of the thing, that the proposed *particular naturalization* of the *Jews*, had no less for its object than a *general naturalization*. Whether this was *really* the case, or not, is not material: I shall indulge myself in making some
re-

reflexions upon this principle, as introductory to our subject.

General Naturalization hath been warmly defended by many *real patriots* and well-wishers to their country; They urge the consideration, of the *supposed* great utility to be derived from it, by the *diminution* of the present price of labor; and from thence flatter themselves with the hopes, of supplying our navies and armies with men.

Others, equally *lovers* of their country, but *less speculative* in their notions, or *less sanguine* in their expectations, argue from a *fact* which is undeniable; *viz.* "That we have
 " *great numbers* of people in this
 " island who are supported by *cha-*
 " *rity*, either because the means of
 " supporting themselves by the labor
 " of

“ of their hands, is not afforded
 “ them ; or, that the wisdom of the
 “ legislature hath not yet found out
 “ a way to *compel* them to work ;”
 consequently these opponents to a
general naturalization say, “ That
 “ our domestic œconomy ought *first*
 “ to be regulated, before we can even
 “ judge of the expediency of intro-
 “ ducing a number of foreigners *at*
 “ a venture.”

It hath been urged, indeed with
some appearance of reason, “ That
 “ to conquer the deep-rooted laziness
 “ of a people, it is necessary to bring
 “ in examples of industry, and the
 “ good effects of it before their eyes ;
 “ and that the admission of foreign-
 “ ers, who settle in this country, is
 “ so far from taking the bread *out* of
 “ the mouths of the natives, that
 “ it is putting bread *into* the mouths
 “ of

“ of those, who otherwise, in a short
 “ time, must have none.” They add
 further, that experience hath taught
 us, what great benefits may be de-
 rived from giving countenance to fo-
 reigners.

Here we may observe that *one*
 point is taken for granted, which
 remains to be proved; and *another*
 supposes that things are at present, as
 they were formerly, which I appre-
 hend is not the case. Every nation
 is now applying themselves to the
 cultivation of their *natural* advan-
 tages; and improving all the various
 arts of life, in order, as much as
 possible, to establish an *independency*,
 by the means which are in their
own hands. If *they* act wisely with
 regard to *their* situation; if, not-
 withstanding the great heights to
 which we have already carried our
 im-

improvements, we have yet a *great deal* of work upon our hands ; and *great care* and circumspection are become necessary to the support of our domestic œconomy, independent of foreign succours ; we certainly ought to make *more vigorous efforts* towards *this end*, before we enter upon the consideration abovementioned.

Were we to search out the causes of the idleness and extravagancies of our own *people* ; we should find the distemper lies too deep to be cured, by the expedient of introducing *strangers* among them. If we have already more people than we have *wisdom* or *abilities* to employ ; we may invite foreigners to eat *that bread* of which there is already no superfluity. Besides, the distinction of *foreigner* and *foreigner*, is as necessary, as that

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between *idle* and *industrious* natives. It must be granted that the acquisition of manufacturers, who are *skilful* as well as *industrious*, can hardly fail of producing good to this country; and are we not ready to receive them whenever they come? As to foreign merchants, when they apprehend that their *profits*, or *pleasures*, will receive any encrease, *they* come to us of course. Gentlemen of property who prefer to live among us, have no temptation from the notion of *general naturalization*. We are then brought back to the *multitude* of common people. Here we find that we rather want *new trades*, and *new manufactures*, than *new people* to be employed in those we already possess. If the price of labor *should* be decreased, the charge of supporting a numerous *additional poor*, must add a weight to the price of the thing

thing manufactured. If *still greater* numbers of our people become a dead burthen, they will indeed *depend* on *strangers* even for their bread. This is the condition of some of those nations, whose riches arise, not from the *productions of the earth*, with regard to the *necessaries* of life; but from the *metals* which are dug from the *bowels of it*. But whilst there is so great wealth in a country as in this, I apprehend, that instead of *lowering* the price of labor by means of foreigners, we should rather *raise* it; not only on account of the *superiority* such foreigners would acquire, by our dependence on them; but, as I have already observed, by the *encrease* of *our own poor*. Thus the *general force* of the argument still turns against a *general naturalization*.

Experience proves that our own countrymen, however *idle* and *profligate*, and consequently *poor*; such who are really so, will *eat* and *drink*, and *continue their species*: there is but *one remedy* to prevent it, and that is to hang all such persons. As this *remedy* would most certainly be worse than the *disease*, what is to be done, but to use *lenitives* and *emollients*? By *degrees* we may work a reformation. The influence and example of the *rich* can *certainly* render the *poor* useful. There are hardly *ten* persons in the whole kingdom, so *wicked*, and *abandoned*, as to be incapable of amendment. As in a *religious sense* there is joy in heaven at the conversion of *one* sinner; so in a *political light*, the conversion of *one* native member of the commonwealth, to become useful by his *labor*, is an acquisition of *great* consequence; perhaps

haps *greater* than that of half a dozen *strangers*. We are to consider then how to reform those abuses, which thus lead us to seek for a supply of *people from abroad*; the natural effect of our endeavors, will be a *great* increase of our *own people*.

It is granted that a number of *working poor*, such as perform the drudgery and useful parts of life, do constitute the chief riches of a nation; and not simply a *number of mouths* to make a large consumption. The method most agreeable to our *constitution*, and least repugnant to the *genius* of our fellow-subjects, I apprehend then will be this:

First to discourage the use of *spirituous liquors*, and such things as are hurtful to health, and productive of idleness. The *incredible number* of
public

public houses ought to be restrained *: they are a *bane* to the common people of this nation. In those villages where there is *no public house*, there is *no drunkenness*, nor other effects which ruin the constitution : on the contrary, there is one continued scene of *industry, labor, and delightful rest*, of which I have lately had an opportunity of seeing a very *striking* proof.

The next article is the particular countenance and encouragement, which ought to be given by *gentlemen of fortune*, in their respective towns and villages, to render *matrimony* more universal among the *poor*; whilst *themselves* shew an example, by the sobriety of their own lives.

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* But how are we to raise money to support the state ? May we answer by asking other questions ? Hath it been yet put to a *fair issue*, if the legislature *can* levy monies by *means* which have no pernicious effects on the *health and morals* of the people ? and are we to exist for a *few* years ; or do we extend our views to *future* ages ?

The *third* consideration is *education*, which is the great source of *public* as well as *private* virtue ; and no less in *low* than in *high* life. The *neglect* of this is the chief cause of those mischiefs by which we are distressed. There is then no kind of charity more *glorious* in itself, or more *beneficial* to the *public*, than the relief of an industrious parent of many children, at a crisis of their fortune. Their virtuous labor and frugality, may, by such means, be transmitted down to their children, who will be thus rendered useful, and worthy members of the community. But if they are once reduced to the necessity of eating the *bread of idleness*, at the *public* charge, how mean soever that bread may be, they become, with regard to *industry*, what those who have been publicly whipped generally

nerally are, in respect to their *morals* : the sense of shame in both cases is extinguished. Instead of *cherishing* a principle of *sobriety* and *diligence*, we *nurse* a *habit of idleness*; and with the want of industry, piety, and every social virtue, must languish and decay.

It is confessed, that *one* of the great evils under which this nation labors, is the *heavy* charge occasioned by our *numerous poor*. This is an evil of so *complex* a nature, that the wisdom of the legislature, hath not yet discovered any *practicable expedient* for the removal of it. Indeed as the *support* of the community, upon the *present plan*, must ultimately terminate in the *virtue* of *individuals*; I do not conceive, that there *can* be any *effectual remedy*, without the vigilance and attention of the *rich* and

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bene-

beneficent to succour the distressed, at such seasonable times, and in such a proper manner, that whilst we *relieve* the *private* object, the *charity* may, by a *direct* and *immediate* consequence, *preserve* the *public* also. The breeding up a *multitude* of people to *prey* upon the industrious husbandman, and manufacturer, must be *ruinous*. Unless these people do *their share* of labor, they can serve no other purpose than to keep pace, *in their way*, with the luxury and corruption of the *higher ranks*; and *both together*, must, in the course of time, subvert the best constitution in the world.

Those readers who are of this way of thinking, may immediately reduce the *theory* into *practice*, * and prove

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* The circumstance I allude to, happened very lately and was mentioned in the public papers.

to themselves the analogy between *temporal* and *eternal* felicity. They may at once advance the interest and happiness of their *country*, and remit part of their riches to *heaven*, where their *hearts* certainly ought to be, if they desire to be there themselves.

Here then we may reason upon *naturalization* from *real life* ; and from an instance which every *child* may com-

Mrs. *Watkins* of *Walthamstowe*, in *Essex*, had the misfortune to lose her husband the 8th of *July* last, by his falling under his own cart. She is left with seven young children, and big with the eighth. He rented a farm of forty pounds a year, and was industrious in his employment ; but the charge of supporting such a numerous family, so far prevented the encrease of his stock, that he hardly left his widow sufficient to pay the rent which was due. This accident has drawn the attention of several of the neighbouring gentlemen, and other *pious* and *noble* benefactors. It may be hoped it will still engage others to enable this poor woman to go on with her farm, which by the assistance of her brother, she designs to do. She has hitherto brought up her children in the *cleanest*, most *decent* and *proper* manner imaginable for her circumstances ; and to all appearance will continue to support them in the same manner, without their becoming any burthen to the public.

comprehend, which every *man* will commiserate, and every *christian* relieve, bring the argument *home*. Here we may see so many *prostitutes* who prey upon the thoughtless youth, prevent marriage, and obstruct the encrease of the people, rendered virtuous by being bred to labor. We may also figure to ourselves *robbers* and *murderers*, who are lost to God, themselves, and the community, made sober husbandmen and mechanics, by the virtuous example of their parent, and the effect of a happy education. What we may naturally compute their encrease to be, in thirty or forty years, is within the reach of every common capacity.

Thus we shall dry up the *source* of the calamities under which we languish; and render our *poor*, the most *useful*, instead of the most *bur-*

then some and dangerous part of the inhabitants of this island. Thus we shall breed up children in *bumble life*, to be an honor to their parents, their country, and benefactors. Thus we ought to be watchful to teach them to *till* the ground, or to *fight* our battles; to be *zealous* of our country's good, and to worship God, in the profession of the purest religion in the world. Shall we then prefer the amusing ourselves with a refined speculation, concerning the encrease of subjects by *a general naturalization*; and like the dog in the *Fable*, lose the *substance* by catching at a *shadow*?

The encouragement of protestantism in *Ireland**, with that zeal
which

* See the scheme of the incorporated society of *Dublin*, to which *considerable* donations are made, but very short

which becomes *good* christians, *true* protestants, and *sound* politicians, is another circumstance of the highest moment. Might we not expect to receive from thence such supplies of men, for the *improvement of the arts of peace* ; and for the *support of war*, as would render our speculations upon *general naturalization*, as *unnecessary*, as we have hitherto found them *ineffectual* ? whereas, by our *neglecting* our interest in this circumstance, our *enemies* procure *those supplies*, which are ready upon all occasions to act against us, as they have more than once done with great success * ;

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short of the *importance* of it. It is *amazing* that any man, even of a small fortune, shall *pretend* to any regard to his country, and not subscribe to this *political* as well as *pious* charity.

* Witness *Fontenoy*.

Could the *fashion* be introduced, we might receive a farther encrease of *useful* people. A much less number of *Servants* than we entertain, might answer all the ends of *domestic oeconomy*, and produce a much greater tranquillity and satisfaction in *great* families. But *this* we must pass over : *sumptuary laws* are become *necessary* to abridge our *vanities* ; but the great freedom which we enjoy, renders us repugnant to such *laws* ; we must therefore *wait* till the *state* is in *greater distress* ; or in other words, we must approach yet nearer the *precipice*, before we *open our eyes*, and *see* our danger.

To *these reasons* might be added, that we have *something* more to be watchful of, than barely a supply of our *present necessities*. *Liberty* is of
a very

a very tender and delicate nature, subject, as our modern histories prove, to *changes* and *revolutions*. Our *ancestors* have often *bled* for it, and have been tenacious of keeping up a *spirit* of national honor and bravery, even among the *lower classes* of the people. Would a *general naturalization* tend to strengthen or enervate that *spirit*? If such *naturalization* brought in but a *small* number of people amongst us, it would signify very little: if it introduced a *great* number, it might create *great* confusion. We have reason to judge from the temper of our people, that a clashing interest would arise between *natives* and *foreigners*; and probably between the *foreigners* of different nations also. We are already too much disposed to *party* and *faction*; and altho' under arbitrary governments such *evils* are

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not much to be *dreaded*; yet with us they ought to be *guarded* against.

If what I have advanced should be rather deemed *ideal* than *practicable*, we can only appeal to the *hearts* of individuals: we shall soon discover that men of *fortune* and *leisure*, might easily reduce these *notions* into *practice*, and reap the glorious fruits of them. Examples of *piety*, *generosity*, and *public love*, tempered with such wholesome severities, as particular occasions render necessary, *must* have their proper effect. It cannot be too often repeated, that the *want* of *Examples*, and the erroneous conduct of the *rich*, render so many of the *poor* useless: it is not the *want* of *foreign succours*, which makes the nation *languish*. If the *true notions* of national honor, and *public love*, are *really* become
obso-

obsolete, I am afraid that the *mean self-love* of individuals, tho' it may supply a *principle* by which the *state* is supported *for the present*, cannot answer our purpose *very long*. We *must* bring these *notions* again in *fashion*, or *farewel liberty* ! If *she* takes up her *rest* amongst us for half a century longer, it will be a greater miracle than the *Romish* church can boast of.

Thus far I have said, as it has a connexion with our present subject ; and in a presumption that only those, whose thoughts were *inclined* to a *general naturalization*, could ever entertain any design of *naturalizing Jews*. If a *general naturalization* was to take place, in consequence of which the *Jews* might be included, the *opponents* of this project would be disarmed of *some* of their arguments:

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and

and yet, as none of the *Jews* are husbandmen, manufacturers, mechanics, soldiers, or sailors, *they*, of all mankind, have the least title to *naturalization*.

C H A P. II.

The antient state of the Jews. Some of the prophecies concerning them, which discountenance the naturalization propos'd.

OUR business now is to enquire, if it is consistent with our religion, our honor, and our politics, to naturalize *Jews*. For this purpose we may first consider the subject in an enlarged view, with regard to the prophecies previous to their great *national crime* of crucifying the *Lord of life*; and their *national punishment* in consequence of that unparalleled act

act of iniquity. From hence we may *possibly* be led to think, that as it is very plain they are not suffered to establish any *Government* of their own; nor yet permitted to *incorporate* with any other nation; therefore they *ought* not, therefore they *cannot*, be naturalized.

Their great lawgiver *Moses*, and the prophets also, did most plainly foretel the misfortunes which would befall the *Jews*. Whether with regard to the *calamities* they suffered in their several captivities, or the *total dissolution* of their government; what was *predicted* of them is most clearly verified. “Thou shalt become an *astonishment*, a *proverb* and a *by-word* amongst *all* nations, whither the Lord shall lead you *.” “The

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Lord

* Deut. xxviii. ver. 37.

“ Lord shall cause thee to be smitten
 “ before thine enemies: thou shalt
 “ go out *one way* against them, and
 “ flee *seven ways* before them; and
 “ shall be removed to all the king-
 “ doms of the earth *.” “ And I
 “ will *deliver* them to be removed in-
 “ to all the kingdoms of the earth †.”

In fact we do find the *Jews*, thus
 sentenced, have been not only *cap-*
tives, but *distressed, persecuted, slaugh-*
tered, beyond any other people since
 the beginning of the world.

Why this has so happened, may
 be accounted for upon the common
 principles by which we are *permitted*
 to judge of the divine conduct; and
 the natural effects of causes. Was
 there ever such an instance of the de-
 pravity and corruption of men, as a-
 mong the *Jews*? These people, were

* Deut. xxviii. ver. 25.

† Jer. xxiv. ver. 9.

so highly favored, that even the *effulgent* presence of the *deity* was locally displayed to them : the *oracles* of the *almighty* were declared : his *pleasure* was made known to this once selected nation. Yet such was their repugnance to the terms of their own felicity, that this *distinguished* favor and *indulgence*, became the occasion of their *crime* and *offence*. We see how *extremely* averse they were to the reception of the *Messiah* : and how their iniquity in *rejecting* him, was punished with a severity, proportioned to the *mercy* which had been shown them. In what an *irresistibly* plaintive and *melodious* strain, doth our *Savior* mourn over them ! “ O
 “ *Jerusalem, Jerusalem*, thou that
 “ killest the prophets, and stonest
 “ them that are sent unto thee, how
 “ often would I have gathered thy
 “ children together, as a hen gather-
 eth

“eth her chickens under her wings,
 “and ye would not! behold your
 “house is left unto you desolate!” The
 conduct of *his* life, so *amazingly* be-
 neficent, so *replete* with the mercy
 of a *God*; yet did it not open their
 eyes. Not the *astounding* circumstan-
 ces of his death, could awaken them
 from their *lethargy* of iniquity. Not
 the *sympathizing pangs* of nature, nor
 all the *copious streams* of mercy which
 flowed from his wounds, could pre-
 vail on them to acknowledge him, as
 the *Messiah*.

Thus did these *infatuated people*
 give proof of the *greatest perverseness*;
 and demonstrate the *highest* in-
 stance of human error, which ever
 happened in the world. And what
 was the consequence of it after the
 death of our *Savior*? Their *rebellion*
 against the *Roman* government was
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the *means* used by divine providence, to work that destruction, which they had thus merited. They had filled up the *measure* of their iniquity: their abominations were become *intolerable*: and in the ordinary course of providence, nothing less could happen to them, *as a state*, than their total destruction.

After the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, we are told, they were reduced to the *hard necessity*, of paying a tax, toward the support of the *Heathen* worship. But their punishment did not stop here. In less than fifty years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, a further rebellion against the *Roman* arms, under *Trajan*, cost them the lives of many thousands. In a few years after this, they again rebelled against *Adrian*, *Barchochebas* their leader pretending to be the *Messiah*.

fiab. This rebellion was not suppressed till almost all *Palestine* fell a prey to the *Roman* arms, and near six hundred thousand *Jews* perished on this occasion. After that time, for near three hundred years, they were treated with such severity, that they were not even permitted to look towards *Jerusalem* from any eminence; yet in the time of *Constantine*, they raised new troubles, and fresh slaughter ensued.

Thus did the divine providence permit the *Jewish nation* to be brought to confusion. It is true that the most potent monarchies of the earth have been long since dissolved. The *Babylonians*, the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, have hardly left any vestiges of that *splendor* and *power* of which they were once possessed. These nations have been lost in the ravages
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of time, or incorporated with other people who became their conquerors. But the circumstances of the *Jews* always *have been*, and *still are* peculiar to them. May we not reasonably conclude from what we *see*, that it is the will of providence they should be preserved as a *distinct people*, never to be incorporated with other nations, whilst they continue in the same faith *. The same miraculous and

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* What I here call *faith* I observe is generally termed *infidelity*. This seems to arise from a deficiency in language, or a wrong association of ideas. The revelation made to the *Jews* by *Moses* and the prophets, certainly deserves the respectful appellation of *faith*; and tho' this was partly reformed and partly suppressed, and the whole superseded upon the coming of our Savior; yet it seems to be a confounding of language, to call the opinion of any particular sect, *infidelity*; tho' the disbelief of a *truth*, which they have an opportunity of knowing, may, with regard to that *truth*, constitute them *Infidels*. So far we seem to want a word to express the idea of a deficiency in belief. If we adopt the words "*true faith*," in contradistinction we thereby *tacitly* acknowledge the propriety of the word *faith*, as applicable to the religious opinions of any particular sect; tho' we should at the same time

know,

amazing conduct which has been shewn towards them, in their being first selected to establish the worship of the *true God*, as he was then pleased to make his *Will* known, to all appearance will be continued to mankind, by the *Jews* being instrumental to *some further* great end of his providence. The *probability* at least, is on this side of the question. So far is their *history* from countenancing their *naturalization*, that *every* circumstance of it, as well as the conduct of *every* nation in the world, pleads very strongly *against* it. The *Jews* are opposed to all the *other nations* of the world; but most of all to *christians*. And among the *christian nations* they are more particularly opposed to *us*, whose *government* will not admit of their *naturalization*, as

I shall

know, that they *believe something*, which they *should not believe*; or *do not believe something*, which they *should*.

I shall attempt to prove in my next chapter.

C H A P. III.

The naturalization of the Jews inconsistent with the christian religion, and repugnant to the constitution of Great Britain.

THERE is nothing in which mankind differ so much as in their *religious tenets*. As every man is in this instance his own sovereign, in a more absolute degree than any earthly king; being accountable only to God; we ought to be very tender how we challenge *others* for their *opinions*, merely because they do not agree with *our own*. With regard to *laws*, there must be however a strong connexion between the *religious* and *civil* interest of a *state*. There is al-

so *one great article* necessary to be acknowledged, without which men are subject to be hunted from society, as the most noxious of all animals. It will be readily concluded, that I mean the *being* of a *God*, and consequently the *immortality* of the soul. The *Jews* believe both in common with us; and yet we are left bewildered in a *labyrinth*, and confounded in *error*, without the acknowledgment of *that article* which *they* flatly deny. If *Jesus Christ* is not *divine* in nature, *Christianity* falls to the ground; and all the *glorious hopes* we derive from thence, vanish like a dream in the night.

Ought we not then to be very careful of the *smallest* advance towards an *incorporation* with those, who not only *deny our Savior*, but whose faith leads them to think, that

the same *Jesus Christ* whom we worship as the *second* of the *incomprehensible Godhead*, was really an *impostor*? *Mahommed* taught better things than these; and monstrous as the doctrine of this *Arabian* is, he doth *great honor* to the *author* of our religion, compared with the opinion of the *Jews* *.

To consider religion *at large*; this sacred name, though often *prostituted* to the purposes of worldly glory, yet has it ever *influenced* the *politics* of nations, even when the *corruption* of their manners seems to have estranged their hearts from God. *Religion* has indeed been sometimes divided from

* The respect which the *Mahommedans* profess for *Jesus Christ* as a great prophet, and next in dignity to *Mahommed*, leads them to reject all *Jews*, and by no means to admit them into their communion, unless they first become *Christians*. This I have always heard maintained as a fact; and I believe it is true, tho' the experiments must have been exceeding rare.

from *politics*, where the *latter* hath promised any *worldly* advantages; but we may generally observe under these circumstances, that things have appeared through a *false medium*; and the *understanding* as well as the *passions* having received a *false bias*, a very erroneous *association of ideas* hath necessarily ensued.

In a case of so critical a nature as this before us, we *must* have recourse to *religion*; the greatest part of those who appear in *defence* of the *naturalization*, plead upon *christian* as well as upon *political* principles, as I shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter. They urge the consideration of that *charity* which the doctrine of *Christ* so strongly inculcates. They recommend the *benevolence* which the *great author* of our faith hath taught us. Concerning the crucifixion

cifixion of our Savior they observe:
 “ that this very act of the *Jews* was
 “ to answer the wise and good ends
 “ of that providence which is to *save*
 “ us as *christians* ;” adding, “ if it
 “ may not with truth be said, that
 “ provided it *was* against the ends of
 “ providence, it *would* not have been
 “ *possible* for the *bill* to pass.” The
former observation must be granted,
 but it proves nothing with regard to
 our present argument. The evidence
 which the *Jews* resisted, according
 to the common notions of mankind
 concerning justice, must have con-
 demned them. The *fact* is, that
God was pleased to punish them on
 this account ; and it is reasonable to
 conclude, that their *national* punish-
 ment will not cease, till, *as a nation*,
 they are converted to *christianity*.

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As to the above question concerning the bill: if the *intention* of the legislature can either not be answered *at all*, or is proved to be attended with several evils; it ought not to be carried into execution: and thus this question is answered as much as, I apprehend, *such questions can be answered.*

Another religious reason in behalf of the *naturalization* of *Jews* is this; “ That the *Savior* of the world, when
“ under his passion and suffering, set
“ the behavior of the *Jews* on that
“ occasion, to the account of their ignorance, praying his father to forgive them, for they knew not what
“ they did.” This *was* the declaration of *our blessed Savior*; this, without doubt, was the *genuine language* of the *Redeemer* of the world:
but

but still it proves nothing ; for neither from the *gospel*, nor *reason*, nor *fact*, are we led to believe that their crime *was* forgiven them ; nor have we any authority to *act* towards them as if it was *pardoned*.

There is certainly a great distinction between being *passive*, by *suffering* the *Jews* to live among us ; and *making a law* to establish them. The *Jews*, I conceive, are not entitled to *naturalization*, for two plain reasons ; the *first* is, because they are *Jews* ; the *next*, because they are not *christians*. The charity which *christianity* inspires, doth *allow* of the *Jews* living among us, *unpersecuted*, *unmolested*. So far they are certainly under the care of one common providence. Therefore, so long as *they* do not any thing injurious to the repose of the *state*, we have not any *natural* right to dis-

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turb them. But I apprehend that the same *christianity*, and the same natural justice equally *disallow* of our making a *law*, which *enervates*, if it does not *counteract*, the very first principle, on which our government, and consequently our religion and natural rights, are established.

I will not undertake to say, that the same *civil polity* by which we are governed, *could not possibly exist*, were we of a different faith from that of *Christ*; nor is it, I think, material to our present argument. It is universally acknowledged, that our religion as *christians* and *protestants*, and our *civil polity*, as they now stand, are *interwoven*. And I think it would be too dangerous an experiment to *try* if they *would exist*, was any *change* to happen to either.

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If we trace *freedom* and *protestantism* to their source, we shall be led to think that they *would not* exist separately. Or if we consider *true christianity*, as we profess it, as the only *true religion* of mankind, with regard to their *common rights*, we shall also incline to believe, that the *temporal* and *eternal interest* of men are inseparably connected. The consideration of those *common rights*, though it doth seem to teach us the *doctrine of toleration*; yet it by no means weakens the *necessity* of such distinctions among men, as the support of *particular faiths*, and the *particular* civil institutions of communities, do require *.

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* Mr. *Tucker* in his letter upon Naturalization says, "There is no medium between toleration and persecution." If he means *unlimited undistinguishing toleration*, he might as well have said that there is no such thing as toleration in this island.

We are told by the ingenious author of the *considerations*, that “the *church*,
 “ in a political light, considers all as
 “ adversaries, that differ from that
 “ particular form which is established
 “ by law ; and, therefore is very pro-
 “ perly secured by laws, which restrain
 “ those from public employments,
 “ who do not conform to *some of her*
 “ *essential rites*.” This alludes to the
 test-act, and I presume the words,
 “ *some of her essential rites*,” may be
 otherwise expressed, *certain rites which*
she deems essential. In whatever light
 those rites may be considered as they
 relate to the test-act, and as things
 now stand, yet it is certain, that this act
 is adhered to very tenaciously. Per-
 haps it is most safe and convenient, for
 the general interest, to suffer the dis-
 tinction to remain : but upon the same
 principle, that the *church* is *jealous* of
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the least *deviation*, with regard to those rites, she ought, I apprehend, to be jealous of *innovations*, or *dispensing powers* in respect to the sacrament, however spacious the appearance of them may be. The author abovementioned doth, indeed, give us to understand that dissenters, who are our fellow subjects, “ may have a view to “ the dissolution of the hierarchy ;” from whence he leads us to a conclusion in favor of the *Jewish naturalization*. We must, however, do him the justice to observe, that speaking of the dissenters, in another place, he is more *polite*, as if he meant to compliment them into a reconciliation to the *naturalization* proposed, though the *test-act* should remain in its full force. He says, “ Happy are we who “ live in an age, when the heads both “ of our church and state, look on the “ dissenters, as a soil for the church “ to

“ to cast fresh root, to nourish and
 “ strengthen herself ! By this maxim
 “ they improve their utility to the
 “ public ; yet from their assiduity,
 “ the rectitude of their sentiments, and
 “ the public advantage, joined to the
 “ established church, there can be no
 “ room to apprehend the least dan-
 “ ger to her, especially as all posts of
 “ trust are in the hands of those who
 “ profess the established religion.” He
 proceeds to inform us, “ And in this
 “ light all papists, christian dissenters,
 “ *Jews*, or others whatsoever, are
 “ proper objects of her attention ; yet,
 “ being inseparably connected with
 “ the state, she always has present the
 “ utility the state may draw from all
 “ kind of persons who dissent from
 “ the religion established ; and yet not
 “ so as to admit danger to herself by
 “ any. This makes her always watch-
 “ ful over the papists, as they are for-
 2 “ midable

“ midable by their numbers, and still
 “ more so by the potent princes, who
 “ support their interest: they have
 “ sometimes by their principles been
 “ troublesome to the state; and there-
 “ fore particular laws to restrain
 “ them are necessary: the utility the
 “ state can receive from them, is less
 “ than from any other religion what-
 “ soever, as it is always attended with
 “ danger.”

Here we may observe this author's
 acknowledgment of so intimate a con-
 nexion between the *church* and *state*,
 that although, I presume, the *rulers* of
 them have very distinct provinces; yet
 here seems to be few marks of that
 distinction.

Certain it is with us, the king is su-
 preme in ecclesiastical as well as civil
 matters. *Kings* are justly denomina-
 ted

ted the *vice-gerents* of the *almighty* : they ought to be such ; not in a *loose* and *indefinite* sense, but as the *watchful guardians* of those laws, on which, not the *temporal* only, but the *eternal* happiness of their subjects depend.

This being laid down as a principle ; is there any absurdity in reasoning thus ? If *Jesus Christ* is our great *sovereign* and *lawgiver*, under whom we obey our *temporal prince* ; and under whom we constitute a *legislative power* ; can we, with consistency, make a *law*, which, with regard to those for whose use the law is more particularly intended, *favors* an opposition to the acknowledgment of that sovereignty ? It is true our *Savior* says, “ my kingdom is *not* of this “ world,” from whence we might be led to think, that *political institutions* are foreign to the consideration
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of *religious faith* ; but these words are immediately explained, by his saying, “ If my kingdom *were* of this “ world, then would my servants “ fight.” Here then the *sword* is entirely laid aside, and all compulsive means to bring men over to the profession of a *particular faith*, however true in itself, are forbidden. The whole tenor of the gospel proves the same thing. Reason, and the nature of things, entirely subscribe ; but still, as the *same* gospel, even with regard to this world, made very material distinctions between those who *did*, and those who *did not* believe in *Jesus Christ* as the *Messiah* ; and as the same reason, and nature of things, do still continue to make very material distinctions, the *strongest reasons* may be drawn from hence to divide *Christians* from *Jews*, in *temporals*, as well as in *faith*.

We have hitherto acted entirely agreeable to this *position*. We have not yet *naturalized* any people but *christians*, except in *one instance*, to which I shall speak hereafter. If this reasoning appears too abstracted for real use, a little reflexion will render it familiar : Indeed what is there in it more than the common allowed connexion between the church and state ? It hath this also on its side, that all *christian nations* have ever *acted*, and do continue to *act* agreeably to it, notwithstanding what is advanced to the contrary by the author of the *Considerations*. But it is not the *christians* only ; I believe that *every nation* under heaven, establish a principle, by which their *faith* and *temporal government* walk hand in hand. The religious wars which have frequently happened in *Christ-*
endom,

endom, as well as among the *Ma-hommedans*, confirm this *principle*; at the same time as they prove, that a very *bad effect* may arise from a very *good cause*. By fixing their attention on *themselves*, they have *deviated* from their *own principle*, and *forgotten* that mankind have an *equal* right to freedom of mind, however each particular government *may*, and, as I have already said, *ought to unite* their *faith* and *politics*.

How far *naturalization* may be considered as an *incorporation* with the community, in a *religious* as well as a *civil* light, in this nation, may be deduced from hence; that the *laws* have hitherto enjoined the receiving the *Lord's Supper*, as previous to *naturalization*. This sacrament hath been esteemed as a *badge of honor* as a *christian*, and a *protestant*; and as

a token of fidelity to the state. If it is seen in *any other view* at present ; I am afraid it is the result of a refinement, which is *less safe*, as well as *less intelligible*.

Can the *law* in question take effect without blending *judaism* with *christianity*? Some *affinity* will be created by *naturalization*, more than existed previous to that compact. This I say must be in *circumstances* if not in *essentials*. I confess I am not able to separate *circumstances* from *essentials*. Perhaps it will be a dangerous refinement to *attempt* their separation, even in *argument*. But that which may be done in *discourse*, cannot be brought down to the standard of common apprehensions, and reduced to *practice*. The world in general is governed by the *modes, circumstances, and externals* of things, as well as by their more *essential*

essential distinctions; and *this* seems to be *one* of those cases, of which the *modes* and *circumstances*, may, for want of *nice distinctions*, become *essentials*.

All *our laws* are supposed to be agreeable to, and nothing contrary to the *christian* religion. Is it according to that religion, to make a *law*, which removes one chief distinction between *christian* and *Jew*? A *law*, the tendency of which cannot be of an indifferent nature; which promises *no great good* to us, and may produce *great evils*.

Without attending in the least to the *din* of popular clamor, it is very plain, that this *change* is of so *delicate* a nature, that many who think *well* and *much*; as well as those who *judge ill*, or do not *think at all*, are much
alarmed.

alarmed. Many a serious man who is not so *low* as to be governed by *prejudice*, and *party-passion*; nor so *high*, as to consider *politics* independent of *religion*, trembles at the tendency of this law. The *Jew* himself, as he sees clearly, that we act upon principles of *policy*, and as considering *religion* out of the question, whether *we mistake, or not, he* will most assuredly think dishonorably of *christianity*. When he sees us acquiesce in that which himself would blush to perform, in similar circumstances, *will it* encrease his respect for us? He may say *it will*; but I should much doubt his honesty, as well as his veracity. But this is very clear, that if he has a due regard to his *own religion*, the notion of *naturalization* is what himself would *despise*, as more inconsistent with the nature of the *jewish constitution* to *accept*, than it is of *ours*

to *grant*. What has been said by a very *shrewd* person of the *Jewish* faith, "That the *naturalization* was asked "in folly," seems to be a tacit acknowledgment of this assertion.

As to the *Jews* being converted to *christianity* by this indulgence, it is an argument in favor of the *naturalization*, if it could be proved: but shall we prostitute *christianity* in hopes of making *converts* to it? *Experience* has taught us what we are to *expect* in this light. It was said of old, "If they *believe* not *Moses* "and the prophets, neither will they "be persuaded though one rose from "the dead." And we may say, "If "they are not converted to *christia-* "nity by the *gentle treatment* and *in-* "dulgences which they have met in "this country, neither will they by "naturalization."

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Unworthy as some of our priests may be of so honorable a profession, yet upon the whole, I think we may boast, that no national christian clergy equal ours in learning, nor in sobriety of life and manners. But whether it arises from the *tolerating spirit* in which we are educated, or from some other cause, we never *distinguish* ourselves for any *zeal* to make converts. It is therefore pleasant to observe, what kind of arguments have been occasionally made use of, to persuade us that the *naturalization* of the *Jews* must answer many wise and good ends, even with regard to their conversion. The author of the *Considerations* has introduced the prince of *Anamabou*, and some *Georgian* potentates on the stage, to let us see, that the most barbarous people may be brought over to the
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profession of the christian faith, adding that " we need not despair as " there are many *Jew families* of " note in this kingdom from which " converts have been made." I am very glad to hear it ; but much afraid this affair will not bear a scrutiny. Besides, as to our " driving them from " the light of the gospel, and hindering them from hearing its doctrines." This author seems to forget, that it is not *ignorance* of the history of our Savior, which occasions the infidelity of the *Jews*, but that they do not believe it is *true* ; nor that he is any such person, as we christians are assured he is. And moreover that the very *Jews* whom this author would invite, are to come to us from other christian countries.

With regard to ourselves; whilst *religion* sets *very light* upon us, as I

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am afraid it does at this time, there are certainly much *stronger reasons* to banish the most *distant reflexion* on a thing of this nature ; than ever to call to remembrance, that *Jews* are made by *law*, *members* of a *community* which is *christian*. By a *transposition* of the words, and neglect of distinctions, which may be easily mistaken, the *Jews* may at length be considered, as admitted to be *members of our christian community*. The thing itself is a *contradiction* ; but, to all appearance, it must be the *cause* of great *confusion*.

In this case, it is *very plain*, that we either commit *a violence* on our religion ; or leave it *entirely* out of the question : neither of which, I apprehend, ought to be. If the argument involves us in the least difficulty, we are sure of this ; that the
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great *end* of our politics being the security of our *liberty*, and *religion*; every law of a *dubious* tendency, if it is not *absolutely necessary*, ought therefore to be considered as *dangerous*.

If *any thing* can be said in favor of the *Jews*, it is so subject to misconstruction, that no one *dares* to appear in their behalf, with regard to any indulgence which *christianity* might warrant; lest whilst he pleads *their cause*, he should *abandon*, or *seem* to *abandon*, the *cause of christianity*. This I deduce from there having been *nothing* yet addressed to the public in a serious manner, by any one of those ingenious persons, who in a *general view* plead for the *naturalization* in question.

This has happened as I foresaw when this piece was first published,

for all the ingenuity of the author of the *considerations*, &c. all his temporizing gentleness, and spacious arguments to reconcile the different opinions of *Christian* and *Jew*, serve only to confound both. The plain simple question, I apprehend, is only this, Do not the *Jews* reject the grand article on which *Christianity* is founded? Or, in other words, do the *Jews* believe in *Jesus Christ* as the *Messiah*? To say *they do* is avowing that they are *Christians*, and not *Jews*. To say *they do not*, is their self-condemnation, with regard to the very principle on which this author reasons : and we may reply against them what they answered against the person of our Savior ; “ What need we “ of any further witness ? ” Indeed if the *naturalization* proposed could be proved to be entirely independent of all religious considerations

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(as was unluckily imagined in the beginning of this affair) then the question above mentioned is foreign. But the misfortune is, that *this very advocate for the Jews*, whilst he attempts to reconcile us upon religious principles, doth, from the main scope of his reasoning, acknowledge, that religion is *not* out of the question. It is worth observing in this nation, that as every man is, from a principle of humanity, *a physician* to his friend; so from freedom of thought, and liberty of conscience, he pretends to be *a divine* also; but as the just application of many passages in scripture requires *learning*, and great good sense; we often find their meaning wrested extremely foreign to the design of the holy penman, and the time and circumstances alluded to. For instance, the passages quoted by the author of the *Considerations*, I

apprehend do not in the least invalidate the force of these numerous texts, which warned the primitive christians, and I suppose have some relation to us also, against every *intimate connexion* with men who do not believe in *Jesus Christ* as the *Redeemer of the world*.

It is by no means consistent with the honor of divine providence, judging as men, to imagine, that altho' we are not warranted, either by *scripture* or *experience*, to believe that the *Jews* are admitted to *incorporate* with other nations, whilst they remain *Jews*; that they are not to be *converted*, and *united* one day to the *christians*, as *christians*. As they *believe* in *God*, it may be hoped they will *believe* also in *Jesus Christ*, as the true *Messiah* and *redeemer* of the world. It will *certainly* be no reason

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to a *Jew* to profess *christianity* merely because he is *naturalized*; but if he becomes a *christian*, it may give him a title to *naturalization*.

But in the mean time, "If," says the author of the *Considerations*, "a maxim should prevail, that restrictions should be laid on those who are friends to the state, merely for differing in religion, who can say where it would end?" He forgot that restrictions are laid even upon the *dissenters*; and yet we do not think they are *enemies* to the state; but they have certain opinions, which neither the *church* nor *state*, chuse to trust without some reserve. And where might it end, if we laid *no restrictions* upon those who are, from their principles, *enemies* to the christian religion? If it is presumed (and I am sure it is the hardest presumption

we

we can make) that a *dissenter* is no friend to *monarchy* nor *episcopacy*, it must be presumed also that a *Jew* is no friend to *christianity*. And 'till it can be proved that *monarchy* and *episcopacy* are better things than *christianity*, it is my real opinion, that the *Jews* should not be *naturalized*; or in other words, that they should be laid under restrictions suitable to their *principles*, so far as these are opposed to the *constitution*; for if no *refinements* are admitted for the sake of *christians* and *fellow subjects*; surely they ought not to be, for *Jews* and *strangers*.

Would to God the *Jews* already possessed a *title* to *naturalization*, that we might receive them into our bosoms! Our *characteristic* is *humanity*: Our *inclination* I hope will never be wanting in the duties of *hospitality*.

pitability. As *christians*, we deplore the *blindness* of these unhappy men, in hopes they will *one day* see their error; and that the *king* and *lawgiver* whom they *fondly* expect, is indeed the *Messiah* whom they *crucified*!

But there is yet *another* reason which I confess strikes me most. If the *dispersion* of the *Jews* is a standing monument of the *truth* of the *christian* faith: if *that dispersion* is owing, as, in some measure, it doth appear to be owing, to those distinctions which *all nations* have observed towards the *Jews*, the *naturalization* proposed must wound christianity, in proportion as it *weakens* that distinction. And in proportion as we throw *so large* an *additional* power into the hands of the *Jews*, whom we know to be *constitutionally* *indisposed* to *christianity*, if not actual scoffers at

L

it,

it, we must *bury* the cause of *christianity*.

I hope it will be clear to the wisdom of the legislature, that it is more easy to *prevent* than to *cure* an evil; and as this doth now appear, to be one of those *laws*, the observance of which can do no *great good*; but the abolition of it may prevent *great mischief*, that it will soon cease to be a *stumbling-block*.

To conclude this chapter, I have only to add, that although we are *extremely benevolent*, we are also *extremely lukewarm* and *inconsiderate* with regard to our *religious interests*. This, I say, is the *fashion* of the *times*; and therefore the *naturalization* of the *Jews* appears to me a *dangerous* step, since *that very benevolence* may be converted into a *crime*; and whilst we
flatter

flatter ourselves into a belief, that we act as good christians ought to act, we may abandon those rules of conduct, without which there can be no religion at all.

CHAP. IV.

The antient state and condition of the Jews in England.

THOUGH the constitution, customs, and manners of this nation, are so very much and so very happily changed within these two or three centuries : though we generally incline to think ourselves no ways behind our ancestors in wisdom and knowledge ; yet I cannot help observing, that we show such a reverence to antiquity, as to look back to the days of ignorance, superstition, and barbarity of manners, to learn what ought to

be our conduct towards the *Jews* at this time. *Laws* are sacred things, but the *customs* and *manners* of *nations* are of no less moment to the security and happiness of strangers, who are not incorporated with the people among whom they live. Whether with regard to *laws* or *customs*, we find the state and condition of the *Jews*, as much *mended*, as we are ourselves *improved*. If we look back into *past times*, we find the *Jews* in *England*, much in the *same circumstances*, as they are now under *Ma-hommedan* governments: or, as they are, under *those states*, who think the *persecution* of these unhappy people, a *christian duty*.

It is true, the *Jews* had their privileges and protections, but they paid *very dear* for them: they were also subject not only to have these annul-

led, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, but their effects were often seized, and severe mulcts imposed, for the liberty of breathing the common air. Thus they were as much under the harrow amongst us, as they had been in other countries, in more distant ages.

With regard to their *reception* in this nation, the most antient *Jewish* charter, is said to be given by *Henry II.* to a *Jew* of *Lincoln*, where, as well as in *Oxford*, they were settled in considerable numbers. It is related, "That in the reign of *Richard I.* the
 " *Jews* of *Norwich*, *Bury St. Edmund's*, *Lincoln*, *Stamford*, and
 " *Lynn*, were robbed and spoiled.
 " At *York* five hundred of them, besides women and children, took refuge in the castle, where they offered
 " money to the *christians* to save their
 " lives;

"lives; but being refused, they cut
 "the throats of their wives and chil-
 "dren, and cast them over the walls
 "on the *christians* heads; then burnt
 "the castle and themselves in it. In
 "the following reign, king *John*
 "commanded *all the Jews*, men and
 "women, to be imprisoned, because
 "he would have all their money.
 "Some of them delivered up *all* they
 "had, and yet promised more, to
 "escape many kinds of torment."
 This prince however granted a charter,
 for the support of *Jews* who
 embraced the *christian* religion; and
 they were permitted to settle in the
 most populous towns. But how *re-*
luctant the people were to the enter-
 tainment of them, in those days, ap-
 pears from a *grant* made by *Henry*
III. to the inhabitants of *Newcastle*,
 that

that no *Jew* should be permitted to inhabit in their town*.

In the 37th year of *Henry III.* it was provided, under pain of forfeiting their goods, “ That no *Jew* should remain in *England* without doing the king some service; and that there should be no school of *Jews* in *England*, except in such places where schools were wont to be in the reign of king *John*. That all *Jews* in their synagogues should celebrate with a loud voice. That every *Jew* should be answerable to the rector of his parish, for all parochial dues charged on his house. That no
“ *christian*

* If we look still back to the earliest time, in which the *Jews* are taken particular notice of; speaking of *William the Conqueror*, *Hollingshead*, Vol. III. pag. 15. says, “ Among other grievances which the *English* sustained by the hard dealings of the conqueror, this is to be remembered, that he brought *Jews* into the land from *Rhoan*, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupy.”

“ *christian* should suckle the child of
 “ a *Jew*; nor any *christian* man, or
 “ woman, serve any *Jew* or *Jews*,
 “ nor eat *with*, nor abide *in* their
 “ house. That no *Jew* should have
 “ a secret familiarity with a *christian*
 “ woman; nor any *christian* man,
 “ with a *Jewish* woman. That no
 “ *Jew* or *Jewess* should eat or buy
 “ flesh in Lent. That every *Jew*
 “ should wear a badge upon his breast.
 “ That no *Jew* should enter into any
 “ church, or chapel, unless in passing
 “ to and fro. That no *Jew* should
 “ hinder another *Jew*, who was wil-
 “ ling to turn *christian*. And that
 “ no *Jew* should be suffered to abide
 “ in any town, without the king’s li-
 “ cense; except in towns where *Jews*
 “ were formerly wont to reside *.”

In

* These regulations seem to be founded on the canon
 or pontifical law, which is still for the most part observed
 in *Rome*, and in several other parts of *Italy*.

In 1250 this prince accused the *Jews* of clipping money, and found no less than three hundred guilty ; forty of them were hanged, and the rest bought themselves off. Indeed the extortions on these unhappy people run so high, that this prince, and his successor *Edward I.* in the space of seven years, extorted no less a sum than *four hundred and twenty thousand pounds*. In the year 1291, *Edward I.* banished no less than *fifteen thousand* of them at one time. He confiscated all their estates, and left them only just money enough to bear their charges to carry them away. Notwithstanding these severities practised in this nation ; pope *Innocent III.* gave the *Jews* a particular tolleration in *Rome*, in hopes, as was pretended, of converting them to *christianity* ; but they were at length expelled by him also, under this character, *mus*
M *in*

in pera, serpens in gremio, & ignis in sinu.

It is very hard to judge how far the *Jews* might be criminal, to draw upon themselves such treatment. *Derision* and *contempt* of our *Savior* was indeed imputed to them as one of their greatest crimes. Defacing the coin of *Christendom* drew on them a general *odium*, though many a *christian* has been hanged for the same fault. As to their illegal correspondence with *christian* women; in those *unfashionable days*, the laws considered it as the highest offence. If it was now chastifiable with us, as it is among some *christian* nations, they would be subject to mulcts and corporal punishments; whilst the *Mahommedans*, with regard to *their* women, and according to *their* laws, condemn the *Jews* to death, unless they become

Mabommedans. The stealing and crucifying *christian* children was also a crime imputed to them: how far the bigotry and inhumanity of *some* might lead them, is difficult to say; but it is hardly credible that this should have been a *general* practice, and that their whole nation should suffer for it.

I apprehend this crime was imputed to them in those days, much in the same manner as we now find them branded with the odious accusation, of holding it lawful to violate all faith with *christians*, notwithstanding the sanction of an oath. And moreover, that it is not only lawful, but even a common practice in their public prayers, to *curse* the *christians* with the most dreadful imprecations. All these I am willing to think are very unjust accusations. I make no doubt that according to the

notions of some of their doctors, or agreeable to the opinion of certain sectaries (for *they* also have many) some of these tenets may have been adopted; yet they are by no means credible, with regard to men who demonstrate any sense of the being of a God, *who is a God of truth and mercy*; nor yet of such men as give proof, that whatever religious notions they entertain, they hold *moral duties of immutable and eternal obligation*. We find a judicious remark to this purpose, which the ingenious author of the *Considerations* hath given us in his preface, that “ ’Tis not
 “ what every one of a sect *writes*, that
 “ establishes the doctrines of a particular religion: ’Tis the generally
 “ received principles of the faith,
 “ and the behavior of the people professing it, that form a true *criterion*
 “ to judge by.”

Usury,

Usury, forgeries, and other species of iniquity were also laid to their charge in those days, as if they really were in general more guilty than the *christians*; or that the superiority of the *christians* over them, rendered the *jews* more obnoxious to punishment, than the *christians* were among themselves. The stories related of the *jews* in these early times, do prove, that they were very wicked; and it may be also presumed, that the avarice, ignorance and barbarity of manners of our ancestors, were not much inferior to the infidelity and immorality of the *Jews*.

It is certain that after residing here two hundred and thirty years, they were banished, and kept out for three hundred and sixty four years. These are the outlines of the *jewish* history, 'till a new scene was disclosed.

sed. How wonderfully things are changed in their favor will be the subject of the sixth chapter.

C H A P. V.

The antient and present state of the Jews in most parts of the world except England.

LET us now consider in what *disdain* the Jews have been, and still are held in other countries; and from a just comparison teach *them* what to ask, and *ourselves* what to grant. If we revolve in our minds what has past *of old*, we recollect from authentic accounts of historians, that long after their banishment from *Judea* by *Titus Vespasian*, they were persecuted by several of the *Roman* emperors. Among these we find *Adrian* (whom
I have

I have already mentioned) not only stripped the *Jews* of all their remaining privileges; but to show his high contempt of them, sold them like cattle. He also set up the statute of a *sow* at the gates of their temple. In the year of Christ 615, they were driven out of *Alexandria*; and in the two following years, from *Spain*. We are told that *Spain* and *Portugal* drove them out, not from a principle of religion, but policy. Their intention was to get rid of the *Moors*, whose numbers rendered them objects of jealousy, as they might be easily supported by the states of *Africa*. After the conquest of *Granada*, the capitulations entered into, left no pretence but that of religion, to clear their country of the *Moors*, and the *Jews* were necessarily involved in one common misfortune, and driven out also.

What-

Whatever motives the *Spaniards* might have, is not the question at present. We mean only to give some idea of the unhappy circumstances of the *Jews*, by relating what they have suffered in past times: and therefore we may observe further, that in the beginning of the seventh century, they were driven from *France*. Near the close of the twelfth century, bishop *Everard* expelled them from *Mentz*; and *Philip Augustus*, as they were at this time re-established in *France*, banished them a second time. The crimes of which they were accused we have already had occasion to mention.

If we now travel into *Asia*, and examine into their present condition, we shall find, that altho' the *Mahommedans* act upon a very different principle
from

from the *christians*; the *Jews* are often treated, as if they had no title to enjoy the *rights* of our common humanity. It is indeed among *their states*, as it is with the *christians*, according as their respective governments are conducted upon the principles of justice and equity. In *Persia* the *Jews* are poor and contemptible. In *Turkey* they are more important with regard to their commercial connexions; but still they are frequently fined with great severity. In *Barbary*, where they are settled in considerable numbers, they are treated with such gross indignities, that no *Jew* dare lift up his hand against a *Mahomedan*, even to defend himself, or to protect his bed from violation. It is said that the *christians* are in the same circumstances; but this by no means appears to be true; not over *all Asia* in general

I am sure; and if this *was* the case, it makes nothing against the main design of the argument.

From *Russia* the *Jews* are totally expelled; not for their virtue we may imagine, though the political views of that nation are *more* contracted, and their toleration of religious opinions, *less* indulgent than *ours*. At the same time we must do the *Russians* the justice to observe, that they show great marks of favor, even in a religious light, to *christians* of almost every denomination. How often the *Jews* have been threatened in *Austria* and *Hungary*, late years have furnished us many authentic reports: and during the late war they were actually expelled from *Bohemia*. In *Genoa* they have a synagogue, but they are in a very low state. In *Leghorn* they are in a more comfortable

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able

able situation. In the *pope's* dominions, at *Avignon*, no strange Jew is suffered to enter the town, without paying a *toll*, the same as any parted hoofed beast. At *Rome* they are permitted to live, but they have their separate quarters, and are not suffered to intermix with the inhabitants. The same is also practised at *Venice*.

I have heard it advanced in favor of the *naturalization* in question, that in *Tuscany* the *Jews* are permitted to buy lands. If this is true, which I do not believe, the only remark I can make on it, is, that it is some alleviation of their misfortunes in being thus persecuted in so many quarters.

How they are treated in *Spain* we have already had occasion to mention. The same rule of conduct is observed in the *American* dominions of that

monarchy, as we are well informed from accounts of the terrors of the inquisition. No native *Jew*, notwithstanding the great numbers supposed to be in these countries, can make open profession of his religion, unless he has a mind to be *burnt*. In *Portugal* the name of a *Jew* is a term of such high reproach, that a man being called *Jew* * to his face, if he stabs the offender, the laws do not condemn him. The reason is plain, since to be called a *Jew* implies a suspicion of his being such; and that suspicion may afford sufficient cause for the inquisition to lay hands on him. To enter into a detail of their treatment in that country is unnecessary; since it is well known to all the world, that the *Portuguese* cannot bear the name of a *Jew*, and consider

* *Judeo*.

der it as a *christian duty* to wage perpetual war with them.

If we now come back to *Holland*, and consider it as a country of commerce, freedom, and toleration of religion; still I never heard of such a thing as the *naturalization* of a Jew in the *United Provinces*. On the contrary, the *Dutch* are jealous of supporting a *distinction*; and guard their own people from any *encroachments* of men whose faith is opposed to *christianity*. Upon the late persecutions in *Prague*, the *Jews* flocked over to *Amsterdam* in such numbers, that the *Dutch Jews* themselves petitioned the *States*, that their brethren might be sent away to seek some other settlement, as they were in *no capacity* to support them.

As

As to the state and condition of the *Jews* in the *United Provinces*; it is generally computed that their number in *Amsterdam*, where they mostly reside, is not less than twenty thousand; the half of which do not know when they rise in the morning, how they are to find bread for the day. They lately petitioned the *States*, that the bread which is given by *rich Jews* in charity to the *poor*, might be exempt from *duty*, but it was refused, from an apprehension that any *partial law* of this nature, would occasion a tumult among the common people, and expose the *Jews* to their resentment. The *Jews* in that country, though they may buy houses and lands, have not the liberty of working *publicly* as mechanics. They are connived at indeed when they work *in secret*. Neither can they keep open shop for
any

any handy-craft trade ; but I understand that butchers, grocers, and such like, are permitted in the *Jews quarter*, but no where else. It is true, there is *no law* to confine the *Jews* to a *particular quarter* ; but they are looked upon in so ill a light, that they find themselves contemned when they attempt to mix with the inhabitants of the city ; and people of distinction have been generally observed to leave their place, as soon as a *Jew* becomes their neighbor.

In *Amsterdam* there are some eminent merchants of the *Jewish* faith, but even these are by no means considered in any respectable light. They may buy land, as already observed, but what privilege is it to purchase land estates, in a country where such estates are not worth any thing ?



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In the *Hague* there are several *Jew families* of some distinction, who having left off trade, live for the most part on the dividends of their *Dutch East India* stock. Men of experience among the *Jews* have been so sensible of the vicious inclinations of their children, that they have left them heirs only to the *interest* of their fortunes. The *principal* is secured in *East India* stock. This I am assured is the case of a great number of them. In what little esteem these people are, in *Holland*, may be deduced from this, that any *Jew* who has illegal commerce with a *christian* woman, is subject by *law* to be *publicly whipped*; and in fact they are often fined instead of suffering this infamy *.

In

* The *Hollanders* are not very delicate in regard to brothels, since it hath been found the policy of the state to allow of them under certain limitations, for *christians*.

In *Poland*, and some parts of *Germany*, there are a great number of *Jews* settled: but how *little* are they regarded; or rather *how much* are they despised! What their employment is, and of what use they are in those countries, we shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter, when we consider them in their mercantile capacity. In short let us look round us on every side, and we still behold the *Jews* excluded, even under the least desirable governments, from every thing that can possibly bear the name of naturalization. In the mean while such *marks of distinction* are fixed on them, as if providence had intended, that no christian might ever behold a Jew, without calling to mind his redeemer, and the truth of the religion he professes.

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But as the conduct of the *French*, that polite and ingenious, as well as commercial nation, has engaged our *particular attention*, we must answer to what is advanced with regard to them, as exactly as possible. It is suggested that the *French*, for these two centuries past, have practised that *very rule* of conduct, which is designed by the proposed *naturalization*, extending their indulgence to the *poor*, as well as to the *rich Jews*.

“ In 1550, *Henry II. of France*,
 “ by his letters patent, declares the
 “ *Jews* capable to purchase, inherit
 “ and enjoy, *real estates in France*,
 “ *Comme de vrais Regnicoles, & sujets*
 “ *de Roi. Henry III. in 1574; Louis*
 “ *XIV. in 1656; and Louis XV. in*
 “ 1723, and 1728, renewed and con-
 “ firmed this privilege, *Sans que les*
 “ *Juifs soient tenus de prendre aucu-*

“ *nes Lettres de Naturalité.*” These words might easily lead some into a mistake. That the *Jews* are true and faithful subjects to the *French king*, no doubt can be made; and as to the latter words, which may be construed, “ without the *Jews* being bound to “ take out their naturalization;” it seems to me an artful way of *refusing* their naturalization instead of *granting it*. Under this notion of *indulgence* the *French* do, in fact, *treat them* with very little tenderness. Ask a *Frenchman* if a *Jew* is naturalized in *France*; he will laugh in your face for making the supposition. It is said, that during the regency of the duke of *Orleans*, the *Jews* in *France* did offer *two millions of livres* for their naturalization; but this prince, however great a libertine he might be, either thought the thing *absurd*, and

inconsistent, or too unpopular to be attempted.

The *Jews* are indeed received as merchants in *Bordeaux* * and *Bayonne*; but they are confined to a spot, and in general not considered as having any title to that politeness, and affection, which the *French* shew to one another. In *Lyons* they are not permitted to reside above three months, and pay *toll* at the bridge, the same as a parted hooped beast. I have heard it said, that in *Alsace*, as a conquered country, they are permitted to hold lands, under particular limitations and restrictions. In the three bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, being the frontiers towards *Germany*, the *Jews* have a particular indulgence as merchants, but enjoy no privileges in any other light, more than they do in *Germany*. From

* Here they have their *Raphael*, whose character is as amiable as that of *B. M. da Costa*.

From the whole tenor of the conduct of the *French*, one would be led to imagine, that they deem it a gross absurdity in *politics* as well as *religion*, to suffer the *Jews* to spread themselves through their country. So far from receiving them into their bosom, I am assured that only *one Jew* is permitted to reside in *Paris*, as a representative of all others of his *faith*, in the *French* dominions. No other *Jew* is suffered to remain in that city, without entering himself in the *Police*; where, upon shewing their passports, they may obtain a licence for three months, which licence may be renewed from time to time. If any strange *Jew* doth remain there a longer time, or without this formality, it is in a presumption that he shall not be enquired after. I am farther informed, that by *law* they are to wear their beards, and under pain of death to have no secret famili-

miliarity with a christian woman.

What is advanced by the author of the *Considerations*, relating to the foreign Jews preferring *Holland*, to what he calls a doubtful settlement here, I consider as extremely delusive. This gentleman, with all his knowledge, must know little of the *United Provinces*, if he imagines there is more probity, and justice, and a more firm establishment of government, and consequently greater security of property, among the *Dutch* than with us. It seems to me equally delusive, that any Jew should prefer *France* to *England*, upon a notion of "there being modern laws in their favor; whereas, their establishment here depends on the antient laws of the kingdom; on custom, and the general rights of the subject." Will any understanding man among the *Jews* say, that even

even custom, and the general rights of the subject, as founded in equity, are not a greater security to him in *England*, than any law can be in *France*, where if it is not lawful, it is often practised, for the prince to challenge the property of his subjects? But the truth is, there may be many reasons why some *Jews*, from their relationship and other connexions, may prefer *Holland* and *France*. Some of them may chuse the climate of *France*; and some may find it more easy to transport themselves into those countries, than to come here. We may observe, that liberty and indulgences are the chief *attractives*, witness their numbers in *Amsterdam*, and also in *London*: but we have also seen, in what circumstances the *Dutch Jews* now are; and how much their misery over-ballances their opulency. We may further add, that if the inhabitants

tants of this island, together with their government, were established on the continent, we should, probably, have still greater numbers of these miserable people.

Upon the whole, if I am not grossly misinformed ; if the policy of the *French* government is really such as I have related ; and if their conduct is also deemed of sufficient weight, to be a rule to us ; it is very clear, that we are *not* to naturalize the *Jews*. Moreover, it will appear from the concurrent practice and opinion of all nations, civilized, and uncivilized ; learned, and ignorant ; in slavery, or freedom ; *Mahomedan*, or *Christian* ; that providence hath, to all appearance, placed a *bar*, an impregnable bulwark, against the *Jews* being incorporated with any people under the heavens, in any
such

such *manner* or *degree*, as the notion of *naturalization* doth imply.

C H A P. VI.

Modern establishment of the Jews in England. The great indulgencies shown them. Their Situation as denizens, in consequence of royal charters. Not natural born subjects proved from antient records and modern testimonies.

WE have already given a general idea, what the situation of the Jews hath been for many ages past, particularly with regard to this country. We come now to their *modern establishment*. The usurper *Cromwell*, we must allow was in many instances attentive to the welfare and grandeur of this nation.

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The *advocates* for the *Jews* will grant that his consent to the re-establishment of these people, was one of those instances. In consequence of a treaty concluded with their agent *Manasseh Ben Israel*, the *Hebrew* worship was restored to the *Jews* in this island in 1655. But although *Cromwell* was very hardy with regard to the enacting laws, I do not discover that the admission of the *Jews*, was upon any other principle, than his connivance; notwithstanding the additional *specious* pretence of converting them to the belief of *christianity*. The *Jews* had at this time formed very high notions, of the great indulgence which the usurper might show them: 'Tis not at all improbable, when they saw the constitution in church and state subverted, that they might expect something extraordinary would turn up in their favor.

favor. This we may deduce from a remarkable passage * quoted by the author of the *Answer to the Considerations*, which I shall give a place here, tho' not in the same words. My view is to suggest to my reader, how apt the *Jews* are, upon any extraordinary change, to form to themselves high hopes of being established in *more earthly power*. And the reason is plain: the notion in which they are bred up, concerning an expected *Messiah*, who is to be a great potentate, must occasionally deceive them into *fond* hopes, and *foolish* apprehensions. The historian says, "About the time
 " Rabbi *Manasseh Ben Israel* came to
 " *England* to solicit the *Jews* admission,
 " the *Asiatic Jews* sent hither
 " the noted rabbi *Jacob Ben Azab*
 " *bel* with several others of his
 " nation, to make private enquiry

P 2

" whe-

* Histoire d' Oliver Cromwell, par Ragueinet. p. 290.

"whether *Cromwell* was not that
 " *Messiah* whom they had so long ex-
 " pected. The deputies upon their
 " arrival, pretending other business,
 " were several times indulged the fa-
 " vor of a private audience. At one
 " of these they proposed buying the
 " *Hebrew* books and manuscripts be-
 " longing to the university of *Cam-*
 " *bridge*. By this means they expect-
 " ed to have an opportunity, under
 " pretence of viewing these books,
 " to enquire amongst his relations
 " in *Huntingtonshire* (where he was
 " born) whether any of his ancestors
 " could be proved of *Jewish* extrac-
 " tion.

" The university being then under
 " a cloud, on account of their for-
 " mer loyalty to the king, the pro-
 " ject was readily agreed to, and ac-
 " cordingly the embassadors set for-
 " ward

((17))

ward upon their journey. Their
continuance at *Huntingdon* was
much longer than at *Cambridge*,
which soon discovered that their
business was not such as they pre-
tended; and by not making their
enquiry into *Oliver's* pedigree with
that caution and secrecy, which
was necessary in a case of so de-
licate a nature, the true purpose of
their errand into *England* became
quickly known at *London*, and
was very much talked of. This
caused a great scandal among the
saints, and *Oliver* was obliged
to send them out of the kingdom,
without granting any of their re-
quests."

It was upon this occasion, however,
that the *European Jews* actually ob-
tained a settlement; and we now see
them after so many hundred years
banish-

banishment, from 1291 to 1655, again established among us, not by law, as I have said, but by connivance. Notwithstanding this, neither during the power of the usurper, nor since under the reigns of our several kings, can we discover that they have been treated with the least disregard.

We have already explained from indubitable facts, that the *Jews* are in a state of persecution, in a greater or less degree, in most quarters of the world. Little need be said to prove, that they are so far from being *persecuted* in *this* country, that they are *highly favored*. In all estimations of the happiness of a community, we are to consider, not so much what men *do enjoy*, for that depends very much on their own minds, as what they *do not suffer* from

from any external calamity. To what tax, mulct, or other expensive burthen, are the *Jews* subject, in this country, more than the *christians*? to what hard treatment or indignity are they exposed? It is a plain argument, that the indulgence shewn them has, at this juncture, hardly *any bounds*, or they certainly never would have *asked* for their *naturalization* *. Happy *Israelites* of *our time*, who bask in the sunshine of our benevolence! I hope the warmest of their opponents mean them no harm; but we neither *love*, nor *respect* them to that degree, as to endanger *our own* preservation, or that of *our posterity*, on their account. We would not willingly consent, that the *purity* of our religion

* The author of the *Considerations* hath given us a relation concerning the motives of the *Jews* to ask for their naturalization: all which amounts to no more than this, that they thought it would be advantageous, that they believed they should obtain it, and therefore they solicited for it,

religion should suffer any *stain*; the honor of the nation be contemned; and what affects us intimately as merchants, that our *reputation and commercial connexions abroad* should suffer any prejudice through the mere effects of *tenderness and good nature*.

The happiness of the *Jews* is so much the more distinguished, when it is remembered, that neither the *laws* of nations, nor the *laws* of humanity *are*, or *can be* more strictly observed towards them, by any people, than they are by us. Happy it is for them, that as no *real* form of government is so admirably modelled as ours; they can no where enjoy so great *security* of their lives and properties as with us. This *security* seems to have *lulled* them into a *supine neglect* of themselves. They had either forgotten, that *themselves* are *Jews*, or that

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we are *christians* ; but they would do well to consider what *have been* the effects of an *overweening* confidence.

It is recorded that "*William Rufus* encouraged the *Jews* to enter into disputation with the bishops ; and swore by the face of *St. Luke*, that if they got the better he would himself turn *Jew*." The historian adds " the *Jews* grew so insolent upon this encouragement, that they openly derided the *christian* religion. However they soon found their mistake, and were forced to leave *London*, and fly for shelter. Many of the *Jews* became so terrified, that two hundred of them were converted to *christianity*, in one day, at *Dunstable*." *

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christians

* Though I have closed my chapter of religious reasons for not naturalizing the *Jews* ; yet much having been thrown out, as if a repugnance to the *naturaliza-*
tion

christians they were, we may easily conclude. From hence we are taught that

tion in well disposed minds, was the effect of an erroneous judgment ; and that we are in great danger in this argument of deviating from the true spirit of christianity ; I must observe, that I am a little struck with Mr. *Tucker's* quotation from bishop *Kidder*, in which this prelate demands “ if the *Jews* have been treated with that “ humility and tenderness as becomes the christian doctrine ? ” On the contrary “ if they have not been often “ *persecuted, afflicted, scoffed at*, and contemned as unworthy our notice and regard ? If we have not wanted that *compassion* which we ought to have for their “ souls ; and treated them without a due regard and tenderness, which hath hardened them in their obstinacy, “ and prejudiced them against our religion ? ” I am not so well read as to answer all these questions ; but they seem to be dictated by piety, rather than by observation and fact. Indeed I believe we have not treated the *Jews* with that *primitive piety*, that *zealous spirit* of conversion which might prevail in the first ages of christianity ; because that spirit doth not prevail at this time ; and I suppose did not prevail at the close of the last century, when the bishop wrote. But I beg leave to ask any dispassionate person, if the bishop, or any man of common sense, might not have a truly pious zeal to convert the *Jews*, and yet learn from *observation*, that the *means* to obtain this *end*, is to keep them *low*. By *low* we may imagine the bishop meant, not to nurse their infidelity by any injudicious indulgencies, which might tempt them to forget themselves, and their state and condition in the several nations of the earth. Indeed so far from depreciating

that any *union*, or *appearance of union* between *Christ* and *Antichrist*, cannot with safety be attempted *.

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ciating the bishop on this account, as Mr. *Tucker* does the remark in his postscript, may it not be a proof of the good judgment, as well as of the piety of this prelate ?

* The respect I have for Mr. *Tucker* as a *divine*, a *patriot* and an *advocate for commerce*, has also engaged me to examine very carefully the 9th, 10th and 11th chapters of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*, (which Mr. *Tucker* recommends in his letter on naturalization, page 11.) to observe if I could discover whether my judgment had betrayed me, with regard to the religious reasons concerning the proposed *naturalization*. Upon my word I can find nothing more in these chapters (which seem to be abstruse in some respects) than a protestation on the part of *St. Paul*, that he had the interest of his countrymen, the unbelieving *Jews*, entirely at heart, even to extreme sorrow and affliction. That notwithstanding the great favor shown them through a succession of ages, as the *distinguished*, the *chosen* people of God; yet that their repugnance to the belief of christianity, must, according to the ordinary course of divine providence, occasion their rejection—How long and in what degree that repugnance would last, and what would be the *exact measure* of the divine resentment, could however be known only to that eternal wisdom which governs the world; and of which it is impossible for any finite capacity to form an adequate apprehension. But it was not only to one kind of unbelievers the apostle addresses himself; many false opinions

The *christian* is instructed not to transgress through a *false* notion in politics, or a *false* zeal in religion. The *Jew* is yet more strongly admonished, not to be the *foolish* occasion of his own misfortunes.

The *Jews* themselves are certainly most *deeply interested* to behave with that moderation, which is best calculated to *support* them in the *happy establishment*, which they have acquired in this country. I *thought* in the beginning of this affair; I *declared* my opinion, and am still *constant* to it; that the privileges at which the *Jews*

opinions had prevailed, different from the true spirit of christianity; consequently his argument is treated with a variety of sentiment and admonition; and yet nothing which tends to the blending *unbelieving Jews* with *orthodox Christians*. Indeed lest the latter, from a principle of pride, should fall off from christianity, he admonishes them also to observe the duties of charity and humility towards their countrymen, well knowing, that even in religious concerns, the *heart of man* is apt to be puffed up, by any notion of *superiority and distinction*.

Jews now aspire, might hereafter become one of the chief causes of their *persecution*. Indeed, many of the knowing ones are already so sensible of this, that they *wish* to see the act repealed. God forbid that a spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm, should ever prevail in this nation ! But whether it is from a *good* or a *bad* principle ; if the conduct of the *Jews* should at any time give offence, their *naturalization*, if such should take place, will to all appearance raise the *higher* indignation, in the breasts of their persecutors. In the mean while, they are giving alarms to those foreign nations, who are their *constant* and *avowed* enemies.

Whatever advantages they might receive by *naturalization*, it is very plain they never can be *incorporated* with us, whilst *they* remain *Jews*, or *we*, *Christians*. They do not, in one sense,

sense, *desire* to be *incorporated*; but it is certain, that they propose to themselves a *considerable* augmentation of their *influence* and *power*, in this nation, by means of *naturalization*. These people who are so attentive to their worldly advantages; can it be *conceived*, or *imagined*, that they would take so much pains for *nothing*? They have either put themselves, under the guidance of men of very narrow capacities; or, what is more probable, they flatter themselves, with the enjoyment of *greater advantages*, than are generally allowed, to be the natural result, of the *naturalization* proposed. And why did they in the time of *Cromwell*, and likewise in the reigns of king *William*, queen *Anne*, and his late majesty, solicit for their *naturalization*, if it was really of no consequence to them? To *reason* upon this principle, is, as if we imagin-

ed, *they* were ignorant of *their* interest; or that *we* are really indifferent about *ours*.

The debate has afforded us an opportunity of learning, what the greatest part of our merchants had either forgotten, or never known; viz. that the *Jews* are *already* naturalized by an act of 1740, at least “ that those
“ *Jews* who have already resided in
“ the *American* colonies, or who have
“ served as mariners during the war,
“ two years in *British* ships, are become natural born subjects of *Great-Britain*, without taking the sacrament.*” It may now be asked, how *that bill* came to take place? The considerations which *affect* us now, certainly

* This act, we are informed, has brought over only one *American Jew* with a considerable fortune; from whence it is plain, that there are few or no rich *Jews*; that they do not chuse to change their climate: or, that their coming, doth not depend on such encouragement.

certainly did not *affect* us *then*. But this is no argument against those, who *now* apprehend the proposed *naturalization* will be injurious in its consequences. The inclinations of a people, consequently the *laws* of a *nation*, *differ* extremely, at *different times*; and perhaps in no country more than in *Great-Britain*. As the case now stands, there seems to be *strong* reasons to repeal *that act also*; *much stronger*, I apprehend, than to throw any *additional power* into the hands of the *Jews*. *Indeed, if it is just and right to repeal either, the same reasons will hold good for both.*

Let us examine now the political arguments made use of by moderate people, who have declared for the *naturalization* of the *Jews*. “Why
“should not,” say they, “the father
“enjoy what the son already possesses?”
“The

“ The latter, when born in his majesty’s dominions, is a natural-born “ *Englishman*, and free to purchase “ lands.” Here arose the mistake into which so many have fallen: in this consisted, or doth still consist, the perplexity. If we judge according to the *reason of things*, with regard to *the powers* which can *consistently* be granted to the *Jews*; the argument will stand in a different light, to that in which it has been generally placed. But if we apply to facts, with respect to the laws which have been enacted, surely we shall discover, if the meaning of them is, that the *Jews* shall have a *legal claim*, when natives of this island, to all the rights and immunities of natural born subjects, excepting such as are provided against by the *test act*. If such a law were produced *, the next point under

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* The only clear law on this head, that I hear of, is

consideration would be, if upon the whole it can be proved injurious to the community, either immediately, or in its remoter consequences; because, if it can be so proved, every good subject will certainly plead for its repeal.

The author of the *Considerations* informs us, that “the *Jews* (who have “been settled here ever since *Oliver Cromwell*) most certainly, when natives, are entitled to *all* the privileges of an *English* subject; except “such as are prohibited to *all* dissenters by the *test act*.” He adds, that “they have had an act of parliament, these many years, empowering them to take such oaths to the “government, as are appointed for “those that hold lands*.” If this

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is the act of 1740, relating to the *American Jews* already mentioned.

* Vide, 10th *George I.*

gentleman can make out his assertion; then the argument will not turn upon what is *law*, but what ought to be our rule of conduct towards the *Jews*. In the mean while, we may look back to see upon what terms they were settled in this island in *antient times*; and here we find, in the reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the law relating to them, is expressed in the following words:

Be it known also, that all the Jews where-soever they be within the realm, ought to be under the king's guard and protection, as his vassals, neither can any one of them put himself under the power of any rich person, without the king's licence; for the Jews, and all they have, belong to the king. And if any person shall detain them, or their money, the king may claim them (if he please) as his own property.

Will it be thought a force upon our argument, to have recourse to antient

records? The *advocates* for the *naturalization* have, more than once, appealed to those of *Henry II.* with regard to the *Jews* purchasing of lands. This I have long understood, to amount to no more than a permission granted for that purpose by a royal charter. And if we search further into this business, we may discover, that the *Jews* were only made *denizens* by that charter. That a *denizen* is not a natural born subject, is as well known, as that he cannot hold lands, or legally inherit them by descent, but particularly that a *Jewish denizen* does not enjoy this privilege. We find a certain great *Jew* was so sensible of this, that he holds his estate by a *particular* act of parliament, by which *he* had the liberty to *purchase*, by its being granted to *another*; to *sell* it to *him*; and moreover, that this *Jew*,
 I if

if we may call him so, brings up his children *christians*.

Though the immediate successors * of the usurper *Cromwell* thought the *Jews* intitled to their protection, yet they did not consider them upon an equality with their other subjects; neither can we discover, that after the *revolution* any alteration was made with regard to them. As a proof of this, it is recorded that a dispute arose in 1690, concerning the payment of the *alien's duty*. The *Jews* did not so much as pretend that they were more than *denizens*; but that in consequence of royal letters of *denization*, they were exempted from this duty. Their pretence however was super-

* *Charles II.* and *James II.* Indeed, Mr. *Tucker* in his late ingenious piece on naturalization, pag. 5. would persuade us, that by the 15th *Charles II.* cap. 15. it was meant to entitle *Jews* to bear offices, civil and military, as well as to purchase lands, but surely he mistakes the matter.

superfeded by an order of the king in council, dated *Hampton Court*, *October* the 14th, 1690. I have also heard a native *Jew* complain, that as the *law* now stands, his brother's estate, to which he is *collateral heir*, devolves to the *crown* ; thereby tacitly confuting the *mistaken notion*, that a *Jew* born here is a *natural born Englishman*.

But this matter is cleared up to us with great exactness ; and, as far as I comprehend, with great knowledge of the laws, and constitution of these kingdoms. The *opinion* of this eminent lawyer has already made its appearance in public, in the *Answer* to the *Considerations*, which I have had occasion to mention. He says
 “ That *Jews* born here are in every
 “ respect to be deemed natural-born
 “ subjects, and may consequently
 “ pur-

“ purchase and hold what land estates
 “ they please, is to me a doctrine that
 “ seems quite inconsistent with the
 “ *whole tenor* of our laws, and with
 “ the very *essence* of our constitution.
 “ That a *Jew* born, either here or
 “ beyond sea, may purchase a land
 “ estate, I shall readily agree; but
 “ that he can hold it any longer than
 “ the king pleases, I will positively
 “ say, *neither is, nor ever was, nor*
 “ *ever can be the law of this kingdom,*
 “ *until it be made so by act of parlia-*
 “ *ment*; for that is the only method
 “ by which the common law can be
 “ altered: and that a land estate pur-
 “ chased by a *Jew* belongs to, and
 “ may be seized by the king, is now,
 “ and has always been, the *common*
 “ *law* of this kingdom, ever since
 “ *christianity* was established; for
 “ even that law of *Edward* the con-
 “ fessor, was but declaratory of the
 “ common

“ common law, as appears by the
 “ very words of it. And notwith-
 “ standing the great favors granted
 “ by *William* the conqueror, and his
 “ successors, to the *Jews*, they took
 “ care not to alter this part of the
 “ common law ; but, on the contra-
 “ ry, enforced it, by often seizing
 “ upon the lands mortgaged to the
 “ *Jews* ; for in those days the pur-
 “ chases made by the *Jews*, and even
 “ by *christians*, were generally by
 “ way of mortgage ; and sometimes
 “ the king would grant a release to
 “ the mortgager, without the con-
 “ currence or consent of the *Jew*
 “ mortgagee. Can we suppose that
 “ from the conquest to the eighteenth
 “ year of *Edward* I. a period of two
 “ hundred years, there were no *Jews*
 “ born in *England* ? yet in all that
 “ time did we ever hear of a distinc-
 “ tion between *Jews* born *within*, or
 “ *without*

“ *without* the king’s dominions? They
 “ were both *equally* the king’s pro-
 “ perty: they had *equally* a right to
 “ purchase and to hold, that is to
 “ say, ’till it pleased the king to take
 “ it from them. Did we ever hear
 “ of such a distinction before the
 “ present age, so fertile in novel-
 “ ties of every kind? It is a distinc-
 “ tion expressly against the common
 “ law of this kingdom, by which e-
 “ very *Jew*, whether born *here*, or
 “ *abroad*, and all that belongs to
 “ him, is the king’s property.”

The clear and perspicuous manner
 in which this *opinion* is delivered; the
 confidence in which the *facts* are
 asserted; the great improbability that
 the author of this piece, should be
ignorant of any act of parliament,
 which destroys the principle upon
 which he reasons: the concurrent

force of these, must, I say, subdue us to a *belief*, until they are *proved* to be *fallacious*. If this opinion should prove to be the *true* state of the case, will it alarm the *Jews*? will they have any thing to fear from it? Has any opposition been ever made to their quiet enjoyment of a paternal inheritance? Or have their own acquisitions, or the riches of their ancestors been ever wrested from them, by any unequitable means? I am now speaking of the time of their *modern establishment* of one hundred years, within the æra of *knowledge*, *liberty*, and national justice in this country. If any thing can consistently be done in their favor, or if any thing is *necessary to be done*, we must leave it to the wisdom of the legislature. This is certain, that the nature of their circumstances, however hard it may seem, by no means, invalidates *one single*

single argument against the proposed *naturalization*, since it ever will be in our power, and I dare hope it will be our *inclination* also, to treat these people with justice and humanity.

The truth is, that the *Jews* always *have been*, and perhaps always *will be*, in a great measure dependent on the *clemency* and *justice* of other nations; and their greatest security *must depend* on the constitution of the government, and the moral character of the people, with whom they reside. They have long wished for their *naturalization* in *this* country, presuming they should be more secure and happy; but in this they may have been mistaken, for it does not *necessarily* follow that they would be so. The *tenderness* and *equity* of our present government, without doubt, afforded a very strong reason, to believe that

this favor would be granted them. Perhaps *no time* could be less improper to make the experiment. Our *notions* are much *enlarged*; but as *unlimited speculations* in politics, may be as ruinous as *narrow and contracted opinions*; *some restraints* are certainly *necessary* *. In the mean time, the *Jews*, upon a comparison of their circumstances in other parts of the world, have the *highest reasons* to thank God, for the *good* which they enjoy. If they grow *jealous* of us, and *are not* contented; there is just grounds to suspect, that instead of a virtuous acknowledgement of the dispensations of providence, they are intoxicated with the *indulgences* which have

* The *true* distinction seems to be that which I just now observe is made by the *author of the Considerations*, though *he* does not mean to *confine* the *Jews* to it; or has not the same *idea* of the words as I have, *viz.* "That they may be admitted as *subjects* of the realm, but not properly as *members*." (i. e. in no degree members) "of the *Constitution*,"

have been shewn them, by the government of this country : indulgences *by means of which* they have acquired many great fortunes ; and *which* they now safely enjoy. May their conduct be such as always to entitle them to that enjoyment!

C H A P. VII.

Of the number, employment, riches and poverty of the Jews. The impropriety of their possessing land estates. The absurdity of the right of disposing of church benefices.

WE come now to take a view of the present state and situation of the *Jews*, from whence we may deduce, that their naturalization is *improper, or unnecessary.*

The

The number of the *Jews* is very differently reported: some have made them only six hundred families, containing two thousand souls. The *Jews* themselves have of late pretended that their number is ten thousand, agreeable to what was mentioned by one of the merchants, at the bar of the house of commons. However, the nearest computation, I apprehend to be between *six* and *eight thousand*; and yet the number of opulent families, do not exceed *twenty*, the half of which are *merchants*. There are some few ingenious men among the *Jews*, physicians as well as merchants; but their number in this country is exceeding small indeed! The next set of people in rank are *brokers*, and they hardly exceed *forty*. With regard to trade, they are what a trumpeter is in an army: they

they are by no means respectable in themselves, nor are they deemed the most honorable in their profession; but I am willing to think they are of *use*, because they are frequently the *occasion* of setting other people to work.

Next to these, come a train of *hawkers* and *pedlars*, and *traffickers* in every *imaginable* commodity, in every *imaginable* way; but very few in that which is deemed *regular*, *honorable*, and according to the ordinary rules of civil polity. In this general list, we must include those who buy, and sell stolen goods; a *trade* for which, I am afraid, the public is not at all *indebted* to them. Gentlemen who have been curious in their remarks, observe, that many second-hand things, exposed to sale by the *Jews* in *Flanders*, are of *English* manufacture.

nufacture. It ought not to be imagined that these are *all stolen*, since they *buy* great quantities, in what is generally called a *fair way*. In the light of *itinerant pawnbrokers*, and purchasers of that which the seller ought not to dispose of, a late complaint of the university of *Cambridge* may be urged in proof, that such kind of *wanderers* are oftentimes detrimental. As to the *qualities* of the goods which they *vend* up and down the country; the complaint made against them, seems to carry with it a reflexion on the *understanding* of the *buyers*; we will therefore pass it over, as not essential to the present argument.

Now if the calculation of their numbers just mentioned, be true, the proportion of their *poor* must be very great. It is said in their behalf, that as the *necessitous* are maintained by the

opulent ; the former are rather a *benefit*, than an *injury* to a state : but this I apprehend is not true, for the reasons mentioned in my first chapter. On the contrary, it is a diminution of the merit of the *Jews*, that their *poor* are really a *burthen* to a nation. Indeed how can it possibly be otherwise ? if *our* poor are a burthen *to us*, and *their* poor a burthen *to them*, are they not both *national burthens* ? and in proportion to the number of *poor*, compared to those who get their bread, must every particular division of the people be a *national burthen* ; since in a *national* light, they serve only to raise the price of provision to the industrious laborer, from whose shoulder they take no part of the load. And does it alter the case that the poor *Jews* are supported by the funds of the synagogues ? these funds must be paid,

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as

as in fact they are, by the taxes imposed on their people, by their elders; and by the offerings made at the time of public prayer, and all solemn occasions. This proves indeed that they act with equal policy and humanity; since if the *Jews* were permitted to beg about the streets, as the *christians* most *impolitically* and *unchristianly* are suffered to do, they would necessarily bring such a *disgrace* upon their fraternity, as would expose them to many pernicious consequences.

Among the lower classes of these people, however great their poverty, they are naturally, or by custom, averse to labor. Their *religion* cuts them off from commerce with the rest of mankind, and I cannot discover that they learn any *art*, or practice any *manual labor*. They are of

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no

no use in agriculture, or manufactory*; neither will they serve us in our army, or navy. Notwithstanding this, it is highly reasonable to believe, that under a notion of being put on the footing of natural-born *English* subjects, many *Jews*, in very despicable circumstances, will flock over to us. They know that wealth is to be acquired in this commercial country; and considering what their *morals*, and *fertility* of invention in acquiring riches, generally are; it is probable, that under the countenance of *naturalization*, we should soon have an encrease of *Jews*, though they should be masters of no more money, than just to pay the expence of *naturalization*. Some of them, no doubt, would have the expence borne by their *rich friends*, since the *more Jews*

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* This must be understood with some exceptions. There is one *industrious Jew*, I am told, established in *Norwich*.

are naturalized, the greater will be the weight and influence of *Judaism* in this country; and the more opportunities they will have of assisting each other. We see already, that in all cases where their *pecuniary interest* can receive any accumulation, or additional strength, they cling to us with all the fondness imaginable.

Thus it does appear, that *this country* may really become to them an *asylum*, in a sense which no other country has yet been, since their *dispersion*. Is this the thing intended by the legislature? If it would advance our *political interest*, without wounding our *religion, liberty, or commerce*, every good subject ought to subscribe to it.

But our *immediate view* has been to the *rich Jews*, in hopes of partaking

taking of *their wealth*, in consequence of *their commerce*, and other connexions with us. Here I must beg leave to observe, that the *bill* neither *doth* nor *can* confine the naturalization to *such persons*, unless it could establish an *inquisition*, to examine if a *Jew* is *rich*, or *not*; and require security that he shall not alienate his wealth; or be *partial* in granting the naturalization, and create more disgust than good will. The bare supposition of these things are ridiculous. The reasons which first gave occasion to the proposed indulgence of the *Jews*, were these. “ That it would
 “ probably bring an addition of men
 “ and money into the kingdom; and
 “ as these would tend to the general
 “ advantage, the favor could never
 “ be understood to be confined to
 “ the *Jews*, in prejudice to ourselves.
 “ That a number of *rich men* might
 “ flock

“flock over to us, and the natural
 “effect of such an acquisition would
 “be an increase of commerce.” It
 was urged further, “That we have
 “two millions of *Jewish* property in
 “our funds, great part of which be-
 “long to *Jews* residing in *foreign*
 “parts, who consequently contribute
 “nothing towards the support of our
 “government; but, on the contra-
 “ry, lay out their *interest* in additi-
 “onal stock, and increase the *mort-*
 “gage upon us; whereas the expe-
 “dient of *naturalization*, might in-
 “duce such *Jews* to leave the con-
 “tinent, and come into this island,
 “in order to spend the produce of
 “their stock amongst us.”

As to their possessing a sum of *two*
millions in our funds, considering that
 they are seldom reconciled to follow
 an interest for their money, it is
 much

much to be doubted whether this be a *fact*. Indeed, this was thrown out at a venture, but the *Jews* wisely declined the examination. I have heard of *one Jew* who has *two hundred thousand pounds* in our stocks, and only of *one* who makes any figure in that kind of wealth. They say they have, at different times, brought into this country a *million, five hundred thousand pounds*. If this is true, it is so much the better for them, as well as for us; but what appears to me much more certain, is, that the riches of these people have been, occasionally, *represented* much greater than they *really* are. I have already observed, that there are not in *London* above ten *Jew houses of business* of any great note, and that their *men of fortune* do not exceed the like number. But these people have a *peculiar art* of magnifying their wealth, and from thence
de-

derive a credit, which they employ to the enriching of *themselves*, under a fond notion of promoting the *national* service, as if *they* were the only *patriots* among us. But, whatever may have been the amount of their wealth, which they have brought into this country since 1655, I apprehend there are but few *Jews*, at this time, masters of very large estates, who *really* brought them into this island; and of those who have *acquired* great fortunes among us, it might be well asked, to which of them the nation is *really* indebted? It is the *manner* in which private property is acquired, that constitutes the augmentation of the *national stock*, at least in this country. I know of *some Jews* who have traded themselves into poverty; and yet have done more real benefit to this nation, than *others* who have acquired *great fortunes*.

If

If we consider the *injurious* practice of *jobbing in stocks*; and the supplying national demands by our *submitting* to the means of *extortion*; no doubt can be made of the *great abilities* of the *Jews*: but in this instance I think they are rather to be *dreaded* than *caressed*. The *support* of this nation I hope will never depend on *such instruments*. If it is not the *inclination*, or *interest* of our own merchants, and money-holders, to support the public credit, upon any exigency; what deplorable circumstances must we be in! We all know that it was the interposition of our own merchants, which prevented the execution of a *Jewish project* during the late war, which must have involved this nation much deeper in debt. And though the services they did, in common with other merchants, ought, without doubt, to be remembered

with all due respect, their *naturalization* is a thing quite foreign: indulgence to them as merchants; and the kindness and favor of the government, as to faithful and zealous subjects, is a tribute we shall never refuse them, whenever they deserve it.

But of all the reasons which have been advanced in favor of the *Jews*, *nothing* was represented in a stronger light, in the beginning of this affair, and *nothing*, appears to me of a more dangerous tendency. It was said, that if the *Jews*, under the authority derived from *naturalization*, should purchase land; the value of our lands would be enhanced in proportion to the sum which should be brought to market for that purpose; and in proportion to the *value* of our lands, must the *opulency* of the nation necessarily be.

People

People under the circumstances of the *Jews*, should ever be employed in *pecuniary* affairs, and not in laying money out in *land*. They are useful as *merchants*, as we shall shew presently ; but *inconvenient* if not *dangerous* in the light of *landholders*. A *merchant* compared with a *gentleman* of a great land estate, is in a *certain degree* of inferiority. Commerce is, indeed, the *source* from whence the splendor of this nation arises ; but *gentlemen* of estates in land, are the *springs* from whence the channels of trade are supplied. There ever will be frequent occasions in which a *higher* principle must prevail than *mere self-interest* ; a *zealous* affection for the community, or an *indifference* towards it, must *raise* or *depress* us as a free nation ; consequently, in proportion as the gentleman of estate has our common interest at heart, or his at-

tention is diverted by other objects, (and who can expect the same regard from a *Jew* as from a *Christian*?) the effects, though not immediately felt, must, in the course of time, be very pernicious.

The reason which is urged in their behalf, "That the *Jews* cannot purchase our estates, unless we have a mind to sell them," is, I think, a bad reason. The dissolute manners of many who have been masters of very fair patrimonies, have led them into the necessity of disposing of their estates. We know not what opportunities may offer in the revolutions of time, for the *Jews* to become possessed of great estates in land. If the power of purchasing them is granted, the consequences of such an indulgence are to be dreaded. If it should be the case with half the island to

change

change hands; and the estates were purchased by *our own monied people*, though it left the *Jews* the only merchants in the nation, it would certainly be incomparably better, than that a *Jewish landed interest* should predominate. The *Jews*, like fire and water, I apprehend, are *good servants*, and particularly in a *commercial state*; but they are very *improper masters* for a *free people*. I grant, that neither our *religion* nor *government*, are in so tottering a condition, as to afford any *immediate cause of fear* of our being *supplanted* by naturalizing *Jews*. To suppose that such *naturalization* would in a *direct view* *supplant us*, might be deemed *querulous*, if not *factionous*: but are we not to regard remote consequences; and *consider future ages* with the same pious zeal as our *ancestors have considered us*? The truth is, that our lands are
 already

already very valuable; and the evils we labor under, such as arise from causes of a very different nature: the admission of *Jews* may render these evils *worse*, but cannot possibly *mend* them.

It is not, I apprehend, the desire and intention of the legislature that *Jews* should *buy our lands*; but only that they should bring *their riches* into this country. But as an inducement to bring *such riches*, a *naturalization is proposed*, in virtue of which *they will be legally empowered to buy estates*. Now we all know, that the love of ease is *natural* to mankind; and there is a certain period of life, in which men of fortune, *Jews* as well as *christians*, are generally inclined to realize some part of their wealth. Would not such *realization* be either *dangerous* or *inconvenient*?

nient & dangerous in the light I have already mentioned ; *inconvenient*, inasmuch as every sum which is laid out in land, must be taken out of trade ; *and this is the very thing which the legislature would not encourage.*

Will any one pretend to say that our land estates would be better in the hands of *Jews*, than in *our own* ? Will the *Jews* teach the common people such a *moral*, or *religious*, or even such an *industrious* conduct, as ought to be expected from an *English* subject and a *christian*, from a man of *sentiment* and *education* ? if they will not, so far as the happiness of this country depends upon the *good order* of the people, as useful subjects and as *christians*, so far we lose by suffering a *Jew* to buy an estate.

I have

I have already mentioned, that it is practised in the great cities where *Jews reside*, to appoint them certain quarters, distinct from the rest of the inhabitants. Under *such circumstances*, it is not to be imagined they can make any great impression on the minds of the common people; but give them power to purchase land by virtue of their *naturalization*: let them be *dispersed* through this country, and become *masters* of many land estates: let them be the *only* persons of weight in several towns and villages, remote from the capital: leave the *common people* who inhabit such places, without the *example, influence, or protection*, of any man above their own level, except *a Jew*; I confess it makes me tremble to think what the consequences of such a step might be! I do not believe that such people would become *Jews*, because
a *Jew*

a *Jew* has too much policy to attempt making proselytes ; neither do I think that the *Jews* would become *Christians* ; but *such common people*, whose religion already sits *light* upon them, might soon give it up entirely.

I must repeat, that although the effects of such measures should not be immediately felt ; yet there is the highest reason to apprehend, that we should, in the course of time, suffer much more by the exchange of the *English* country gentleman, for the *foreign*, or *native Jew*, than we could possibly gain by the acquisition of *those riches*, by means of which estates may pass from the hands of *Christians* into those of *Jews*.

It may be *further* asked, whether it is true policy to admit of any kind of *foreigners* as land-holders, who

will not fight upon an emergency, in defence of their possessions? I know not upon what authority it is said; but I have been told, that a *Jew* will not fight in defence of a *christian* country. We have some of *our own sectaries*, whose principles do not allow them to take up arms; but whatever may be necessary with regard to *them*, whose right is not disputed, it does not seem consistent in a *free country*, to give a stranger the possession of a land estate, which he will not draw his sword to defend. We are told however, that in the year of the late rebellion, the poverty of many *Jews*, not permitting them to hire men to perform the duty of *city militia*, they were constrained to *muster* and *bear arms* themselves. If such a year should ever happen again, (which God forbid) I hope we shall be provided with a *militia* of more
strength

strength and prowess, without any necessity of so wretched a dependence. In enquiries of this nature, *every thing* which can be said on either side of the question, is not therefore necessary. Upon the whole, the *impropriety* of the *naturalization* appears in a very strong light.

But there are reasons, derived from a direct and obvious policy, which I have already mentioned. The indulgence of the *Jews to purchase estates*, must divert them from the *pursuit of trade*; though at the same time we know, that in this light only they are useful. I have known a *Jew in Portugal*, who had been *twice* in the inquisition, and *twice* deprived of his estate; and yet for the *third* time he accumulated a considerable fortune. This could not have been possible, had he vested his money in

land. The *Jews* in *Poland* and *Germany*, I apprehend, are not admitted to any privileges, but what simply regard their commercial intercourse, either among themselves, or the natives of the country. In the light of *merchants, farmers of the revenues, brokers, pedlars*, and such like, they are of great service; but the *lands*, particularly in *Poland*, are held by the *nobility* and the *clergy*, who lend their money to the *Jews*, at the enormous interest of eight or ten *per cent*. Would the *Jews* be able to pay such an interest, were they *diverted* from trade thro' any *encouragement*, or even *permission* to buy land? on the contrary, would not the *Jews* become in some measure the *equals* of the *nobility* and *clergy*? or, for want of commerce, these nobles and clergymen would either not have any money *at all*, or the value of it would only

only regard the price of their own consumptions.

As to our with-holding from the Jews, a right of purchasing, or inheriting any benefice, ecclesiastical living, or school; the thing speaks so much for itself, that nothing need be said for it. Would there be a grosser absurdity in the nature of things, than that a christian ecclesiastic or teacher, should be dependent on a Jew in a christian country? We might, indeed, submit to this, if the Jews were become our masters; but not whilst we are theirs.

CHAP.

CH A P. VIII.

Political reasons against the naturalization of the Jews, with regard to their immoral character, and the temper of our own people.

DO we stand bound by any law of natural right, to give the Jews their naturalization? we ought to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us; but in the case before us, the Jews ought to prove their right to demand their naturalization, before we grant it. Were they to require our jewels and plate, should we therefore give them, as the Egyptians did of old? divine providence did then interpose in *their* favor, and I hope the same providence now interposes in *ours*.

There is certainly no reason for our acquiescence, founded in the general character of these people. If we have *usurers, extortioners*, and men of other professions, of immoral lives amongst ourselves, it is rather a reason, why we *should not* naturalize *Jews*, than why we *should*. The *Jews* are, in general, an *immoral people*; and *more* the children of this world, than the *christians* are. The sober sensible part of them do acknowledge this; and I believe it will be found, that their *wickedness* as well as their *faith*, hath often exposed them to persecution. This appears to me a *very strong reason*, why we should not receive them into our *bosoms*; and it ought to be a *reason to them*, to be very *careful* of their conduct, among those *foreign nations*, with whom they are permitted to live; whilst the *humanity* and *justice* which prevail

vail in this country, afford them such ample *favor* and *indulgence*.

Immorality, and a *vicious self-love*, are vices very prevalent among ourselves; but I hope in a similar case to this before us, we should talk a very different language, from that which is spoken by *some of the Jews*. It was suggested that their countrymen *abroad*, would be *exposed* to difficulties, and not improbably *distressed*, on account of this very indulgence at which they aspire. But some of them, eager to grasp the present advantage, answered coolly that it *might* be so: indeed it is more than probable that it *will* be so. Now, if in a *national light*, men are devoid of the impulses of humanity, or of love for their *own countrymen*, what regard can they have for *strangers*? if the consideration of a *pre-*
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sent interest, leads them not only to neglect the welfare of those who were lately their fellow-citizens, but even to run the hazard of *exposing* them to *misery*; what gratitude or affection can we expect, who profess a religion of which *they* are bred up in the strongest abhorrence?

But to wave the consideration of a point, in which *christians* as well as *Jews* are often guilty; we must acknowledge that there have been *illustrious examples* of virtue and piety among the *Jews*; *examples*, which would have placed them in the rank of *christian* heroes, had they been inspired with the same *glorious principles*. There are *good men* of all the different faiths under heaven; and we ought to believe, that there are several persons of great probity among the *Jews*, in *this* country. There is

one *Jew* merchant in particular *, whom I have often heard mentioned with great honor : his *charity* and other moral virtues, seem to flow from that spirit of humanity, and *universal* benevolence, which God *originally* implanted in the minds of men. The virtues of this *Jew* must make such *christians* blush, whose *power* is equal to *his* ; and yet their *inclination* and practice bear no similitude.

Indeed, in these latter times, as most *christian* nations are *improved* in their manners ; the *Jews* are also
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* A gentleman of great probity and honor assures me, that he has received the highest proofs, that I do no more than justice to the character of the *Jew* here alluded to, by name *Benjamin Mendez Da Costa*. This gentleman can hardly be suspected of partiality, since he was one of the warmest opponents of the *naturalization* ; and though, upon the principles of humanity and charity, he is a well-wisher to the *Jews*, he is also very constant to his opinion, that they ought not to be naturalized.

less wicked than they were. The better sort of them *disdain* those practices, which have often rendered the people of their faith obnoxious to punishment. If we consider the *moral* precepts of the *Jewish* religion, though they are *not* so refined as those prescribed by *christianity*, yet we plainly see they are taught in common with us, to *love God and their neighbor*.

With regard to the state and condition of the *Jews*, in a national light, we are apt to consider them as vagabonds and wanderers; but *they* boast themselves of being a *separate people, the chosen of God*; and I will be bold to say, that for this *very* reason, every *good man* among them, must either *disapprove* of this attempt, or be *distressed* how to reconcile it. The notion they suck in with their milk

is, that they are *a great nation*, and all mankind *usurpers* of their sovereignty. This *consideration* reconciles their *pertinacious* adherence to the religion of their forefathers ; and at the same time, as it teaches them to keep themselves separate, it *invalidates their claim to mix with any other nation*. It doth also seem, as if providence interposed in a very singular manner, that they *should* think thus ; and that the *politics*, as well as the *religion* of all other nations, should likewise oppose their *naturalization*.

In respect to what concerns the temper of our own people, it may be observed ; that as the word *christian* is frequently made use of among the *vulgar*, to express the *idea* of *man* ; so when a *Jew* is spoken of, among those who are not conversant with the people of this faith, they
hardly

hardly associate the *idea* of *man*. Thus the consideration of our *common humanity*, is in some degree excluded. Though the *manner* of expressing their *repugnance* to this *naturalization*, may argue their *unpoliteness*; yet as the experience of all ages seems to prove, that no *union* of this sort *can* or *ought* to take place, so far *this repugnance* may as well be deemed providential, *against* the *Jews*, as the passing the bill is *for* them.

God knows we are more disposed to quarrel who shall have the greatest share of *this world*, than to give ourselves much concern about *that which is to come*. We are more inclined to put up our *consciences to sale*, than to renounce any *paultry pecuniary* advantages: but still a minister must be a *bad* man, as well as an *unable pilot of the state*, who supposes there

are not many *good men* in the nation. Therefore we may reasonably conclude, that as we are very far from being unhappy in this instance; but on the contrary, that peace, tranquillity, and the general welfare are the objects pursued, no just occasion of offence will be given, that may disturb the consciences of those who *mean well*; at the same time, if *there be* any such, those who *mean ill*, may be *subdued* by the arts of *lenity* and *moderation*.

CHAP.

CH A P. IX.

The naturalization of the Jews not consistent with the commercial connexions, of this nation in foreign countries.

THE merchants who appeared against the bill, laid no small stress on the apprehensions they entertained, concerning our *foreign commercial connexions*; particularly with regard to the impressions, which the *Portuguese* might probably receive of us. It is granted that *we* might as well challenge them for supporting an *inquisition*, as *they* us for naturalizing *Jews*. But as these people *bate* the *Jews* out of measure; for the same reason as we would *love* them out of measure, that is, beyond our former practice, or the custom of any other nation, *we also* may become

become the objects of their hatred. As the case stands at present, we must be considered as *heretics*; yet we are esteemed such *moral heretics*, and have such a regard to the propriety of our behavior among them, as to be in almost every instance preferred, even to those foreigners who profess the same religion as themselves. Besides, their *commercial* and *political interest* exactly coincide with ours: they are our *friends* and entirely attached to us; but doth it follow they will be *always* the *same*, let us act in ever so *different* a manner to what we have hitherto done?

It is the nature of mankind to *love* others, in proportion as they act agreeably to their *humor* and inclination; and to *hate* them as they deviate from this rule. *Experience* already in *some degree* evinces the truth of
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of this principle in the very case before us. If we should *really naturalize the Jews*, I am morally certain we shall decline into a very *contemptible* reputation in *Portugal*. But however the propriety of this reasoning *with regard to public affairs in general*, may be disputed; I suppose it will be granted, that in our commercial connexions, we should have a *certain regard* to the genius of a nation, on whom an *important* branch of commerce depends. As we strive to *adapt our manufactures* to the taste of a people with a view to their better reception; so far as is consistent with the nature of our constitution, we ought to *adapt our manners* also. I do not mean, that it is true politics to submit to any servile compliances, but to avoid any *change* in our customs, hitherto agreeable, or not offensive to our neighbors, when the

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good expected by such change, is not equivalent to the risk we run.

As a mercantile nation, policy doth then invoke us to be tender what steps we take in a *matter so peculiarly circumstanced*. When all the nations of the world consider the Jews as a separate people, by a necessary consequence of the *Jewish* religion; if we naturalize them, shall we not appear abroad, as if we made our religion subservient to our politics? And if we should thus appear; shall we not suffer a diminution in the esteem of those nations? But this is most clear and indubitable; that the *credit* and *reputation* of one nation with another, in a commercial view, and particularly with regard to those subjects who reside in foreign countries, have a great analogy with the *credit* and *reputation* of a private merchant with

with *other traders*. When there is any extraordinary circumstance in the conduct of *such private merchant*, which is extremely *offensive*, he will certainly loose some degree of that respect which he found very serviceable, if not *essential*, to the conduct of his business. And if we put it in the *worst* light, he will be *secretly* undermined, and his situation rendered intolerably uneasy.

The *Portuguese* being blended with many natives, who are supposed to be *Jews* in their hearts, have for some ages acted towards them with that severity, as if a *toleration* of *Judaism*, would bring on a total *subversion* of *christianity*, in their country. The *jealousies* which arise on this account, are almost as great as those which regard their *women*; and *both together* render them, in too many respects,

unfociable; and consequently the less improved in their *learning* and *manners*. How extremely careful they are of any mixtures with *Jews*, appears from this; that those who are *new christians*, or supposed to be converts to *christianity*, are not admitted into any office, 'till certain evidences are given of the *purity* of their blood; that is, that they must have passed through, I think it is above sixty removes, since their parents were known to be *Jews*. We have hitherto been considered by them as *untainted*; and though this reputation hath not been of any material use, with regard to the enjoyment of offices, yet it certainly is of service in our commercial capacity. The ignorance of the common people in that country is such, that they have sometimes been induced to enquire very seriously, “ *if the English are christians?*” Was the naturalization

turalization proposed, to take effect, the question would be changed, and they would ask, "*are not the English Jews?*" The *humorous* intimation, that surgeons are already settled at Bellem *, to examine the *English* who arrive there, to see if they are *circumcised*, seems to carry with it something more than a mere jest. It is indeed probable the *inquisition* would often suspect, that under the cloak of being *English christians*, *English Jews* would come into their country to transact business. However absurd the foundation of such jealousy might be, those who know any thing of the *Portuguese* will easily believe, that from being the most *beloved*, we might, by so extraordinary a step, become the most *despised* nation.

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* The entrance into the port of *Lisbon*.

It is probable the *Portuguese* will also consider us as establishing a law, with a view to entice rich *Jews* out of *Portugal*. I do not know that any number of rich men of that faith, have at present any existence among them. If there are any such persons, to be anxious upon the subject of their coming over to us, is as little consistent with the honor of this nation, as the naturalization proposed, is unpromising of any advantages to us. They know if they do come here, they will be received under the protection of the most free, and most generous government in the world. What more do any of the *Jews* aspire at? And as to those who are already settled here; what more than they really enjoy, can they reasonably ask?

But if the reader should imagine that this is little more than the cant
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of a *Portugal* merchant; let him remember the great affinity between the genius of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*. Both these *states* are at perpetual war with the *Moors*, on account of religion. The *Spaniards*, in particular, cannot support a religious war against these *Infidels*, with more warmth, than the *Portuguese* against the *Jews*. We have seen that the *Spaniards* carried their resentments, to a great height, by recent instances of their conduct towards the *Hamburgers*, who were absolutely obliged to abandon their treaty concluded with the *Algereens*; or to abandon all commerce with Spain. How far *political reasons* might interfere, or the *Spaniards* might judge it proper to give laws to so impotent a state as that of *Hamburg*, need not be insisted on. It doth appear that their resentments arose, in a great measure, from

from the *Hamburgers* supporting the enemies of the religion of *Christ*, with whom *they* never will have *peace*. And now we have a further instance of the conduct of *Spain* towards the *Danes*. I hope *we* shall never receive *laws* from *any nation* ; but neither ought we, in the *gaiety of the heart*, to run the risk of giving offence to our friends.

C H A P. X.

The Jews considered as merchants, the only light in which they can be considered as advantageous to a christian state. The aliens duty proposed to be granted to the Jews.

TH E measures proposed by a legislature, though, they should not always exactly quadrate with the
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inclination of their *constituents*, are most assuredly entitled to a *dispassionate examination*, and respectful treatment; and this is preparative to that *composition*, which it is sometimes necessary to make, in similar cases.

There are some men of great probity and experience in our *metropolis*, who incline to the opinion, that it would be much better for this nation, if there was not a *single Jew* in it. This opinion is founded on a presumption, that the commerce *these people* carry on, might be better conducted by our *own merchants*. How far this may be true, I will not take upon me to enquire. There are several reasons why we ought to shew our good will to the *Jews*, as *merchants*. Our present scheme of politics is *generous*: we have long considered the *Jews* as *merchants*, and as such have treated

A a . them

them with *indulgence*. The great object in view, with regard to the proposed *naturalization*, is the *promotion of commerce*; and so far from *depressing* the *Jews*, their opponents never meant to deprive them of any weight in their *commercial capacity*; but rather to keep from them every temptation, which might divert them from so useful a pursuit. This must be evident to all the world; therefore whilst the *Jews* remain *Jews*, the *least return* they can make to us, is that of a modest deportment.

Whether it arose from an opinion the *Jews* had conceived, that they should advance their interest, by boasting of their importance with regard to their wealth and extensive commerce; they certainly found means, to make several persons of most eminence in this kingdom, believe, that
their

their riches and trade are much more *important* and *extensive* than they really are. When they had carried their point so far, some *idle expressions* dropt from them, as if *their abilities* as traders were superior to those of our *own merchants*. An imputation of this sort is too *ridiculous* to deserve any *serious* animadversion. The *Jews* from the *necessity* of their situation, are *traders*. Success has crowned the endeavors of some of them; they are remarkable for going *great lengths* upon the force of credit; but they are not *equal*, much less *superior in skill* to our own merchants. Several of them have traded very largely upon small capitals, in consequence of which bankruptcies have ensued, and great losses have been sustained by our own people. This consideration, however, is of a *private nature*, and entirely dependent on

the prudence of individuals; but whilst the *effect* may, upon the whole, be serviceable to the nation, the motives upon which the *Jews* act, do not entitle them to any panegyric. We may add further, that if their trading boldly is deemed an *actual proof* that they are *useful* to the state; it must be also considered as a presumptive argument, that it is the *interest of the state* to keep them to their merchandize; which, from what hath been premised, I do humbly conceive, may be accomplished with more ease and consistency, *without* naturalization, than *with it*.

If in this light *as merchants*, it could be proved that the *naturalization* proposed is consistent with our general interest; yet it is very remarkable, that those who appear most in favor of the *Jews*, do not so much as
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pretend that they *know* of any *one rich Jew* who will come here from any foreign country, upon the force of it. Men in circumstances to answer the *purpose of the legislature*, are not numerous in any country : and if we consider families *established abroad*, and conversant with the customs and language of a people : if we likewise consider countries, where provisions are much cheaper than in our metropolis, it is probable that the *naturalization* would bring here more of the *worst*, and fewer of the *best* kind of *Jews*.

But whilst we are thus *pleading* for the *Jews* in the light of merchants ; I must beg leave to quote a passage which challenges our own merchants who *opposed* the bill, as if *they* were biased by narrow and ungenerous principles. The *Jewish*
advocate

advocate says, "The conduct of the
 "merchants who opposed the bill, is
 "easily accounted for; narrow princi-
 "ples, and a view to their own pri-
 "vate interests, were the incentive;
 "they are disgusted at seeing the
 "Jews trade in the same countries
 "with themselves; and think their
 "trade would be more profitable, by
 "there being fewer traders; never
 "reflecting on the generous and cer-
 "tain maxim, that the most exten-
 "sive trade is the most beneficial."

This however is but *his opinion*,
 or an effect of that jealousy, which
 the present corruption of the world
 renders so familiar to mankind. But
 I think this author has mistaken the
 case extremely, Our merchants were
really jealous of their *reputation* a-
 broad; and alarmed at the *probable*
 effects of the *naturalization proposed*;
 I but

but I never understood them to be bi-
 assed by those *narrow principles*, of
 which they are thus accused.

But this author has overshot him-
 self in other particulars. The further
 positions which he has laid down,
 however just in themselves, cannot
 with propriety be brought in proof of
 the particular point, which he so
 much labors. He says,

1st, " That *every acquisition* of
 " *wealth strengthens a state*, and the
 " more formidable a state is, the bet-
 " ter able it is to cope with its neigh-
 " bors, and defend and extend its
 " trade."

2^{dly}, " That *all money, brought by*
 " *any person into the realm, is drawn*
 " *from some other state*; and by con-
 " *sequence, lessens their balance, and*
 " *power*

"power of trading, by as much as it
 "increases ours."

3dly, "That the more affluence of
 money, the easier the trader (who
 often wants it upon credit) can get
 it; and it frequently happens, that
 the greater ease herein, saves many
 families from ruin."

4thly, "That whatever person
 brings wealth into the kingdom, must
 necessarily spend some proportion in
 his family; and whatsoever is so spent,
 augments our consumption in all
 branches, and therein more parti-
 cularly benefits the tradesmen, and
 shopkeepers of all kinds, and the
 lower class of people."

He then invokes us to look back
 into the state of trade, and traders, for
 fifty years past, "Our exports," says
 he,

he, "are increased; the number of
 "our ships, traders, and manufactu-
 "rers of all kinds are augmented; our
 "traders are more opulent than they
 "were then, and our trade is more ex-
 "tensive than ever; the nation in a
 "situation of credit and strength,
 "scarce to be believed, after so long
 "a war, supported solely by us against
 "the united powers of *France* and
 "*Spain*: Interest reduced to a reason-
 "able footing: our national stock is
 "enlarged, by our having more move-
 "able effects, and larger personal es-
 "tates than ever. Are not these plain
 "demonstrations, that the increase of
 "opulence is neither ruinous to the
 "trade or trader?"

Pray Sir has any body said that an
 increase of riches will be our ruin?
 surely not in the sense of a merchant.
 We only say, that it is not upon the

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whole,

whole, for the honor or interest of this nation to *naturalize Jews*, and I think we have supported our opinion with very good arguments. I believe your *general positions* are, for the most part, very true; but *general arguments* applied to *particular cases* are oftentimes fallacious. And now, in my turn, suffer me to ask, if what you have advanced above, is any thing to the purpose which you attempt to prove? In whatever degree we are obliged to the *Jews*, the obligation must relate to commerce. Have the good effects of industry, which you have represented in such amiable colours, happened whilst the *Jews* have been kept to their merchandize? If they have, why would you have us naturalize these *Jews*; since one certain consequence will be, the throwing a temptation in their way to lay out

out their money in land, and consequently to leave off trade?

To return more immediately to my subject. Whether any distinction in favor of the *Jews* as *merchants*, beyond other foreigners who are not naturalized, ought to be granted, is a circumstance we must leave to the wisdom of the legislature. The *Alien's* duty is of some consideration in the calculations of a *large trader*. I do not imagine, that this impost hath prevented any *wealthy Jew* from coming into this island; but *perhaps* the taking it off will engage them to come here. It will, I apprehend, surprise the *advocates* for the *Jews*, when they reflect, that this is the only circumstance which is wanting to put them upon an equality with the natural-born subjects, considered simply

(196)

ply as *merchants* *. If the *Alien's* duty then was yielded up to them, they would enjoy the *substance*, without hurting us in any greater proportion, than the sum which such *Alien's* duty usually amounted to. And if the *number* and *riches* of the *Jews* should augment by any encrease of their trade, which the legislature will expect as the natural fruit of this indulgence, the deficiency will be made up to us, and the general interest advanced.

I be-

* The Ingenious Mr. *Tucker*, in his letter on Naturalization, mentions several enormous abuses, practised towards foreigners, at our custom-houses, under the general notion of their being subject to the *Alien's* duty. I always imagined, that this duty had not the least affinity with the charges of scavage, package, balliage, portage, &c. which this gentleman mentions, page 16. If there are such impositions, as may be easily made appear, if there are, the argument for taking off the *Alien's* duty is so much the more enforced; remembering at the same time, that if abuses, foreign to the establishment of this duty, meet either countenance or connivance, the same bad disposition being suppressed in one instance, will most assuredly break out in another, and consequently ought to be guarded against.

I believe it will be universally granted that the *Jews* are faithful to the state ; indeed their security, and protection, are intimately concerned in their fidelity. So long as they continue as they are, I am willing to believe, they will be useful in the *character* of *merchants*. As their *circumstances* naturally lead them to this employment, the consideration of those *circumstances* has long procured them protection in several of the polite nations of *Europe*. Riches, which are the chief objects the *Jews* have in view, can be most easily acquired by commerce. *As merchants they desire to be countenanced. As merchants we desire to countenance them.* If it is a fact that the *Jews* do *acquire* riches, and are *secure* in the enjoyment of them ; how came it to enter into the *hearts* of themselves, or of any of their advocates, that we exercise a severity

severity towards them, in not admitting them to the *full enjoyment* of all the immunities of natural-born subjects? It is true we are fellow-citizens: *Commerce*, which we now recommend, is the link by which men are united in love. This is the mutual interest which ought to subsist between *Christian, Jew, Mahomedan* and *Pagan*. The voice of *reason* and *faith*, joins with the calls of *humanity* in promoting this *union*. As creatures of *one common make*, the care of *one common parent*, existing by the power of *one common Lord*, this affinity ought to be cultivated. *Commerce* and *peace* go hand in hand, as naturally as *discord* and *war*. Thus it is demonstrably agreeable to the wise designs of providence, that the *virtue*, and consequently the *felicity* of mankind, should depend in a great measure on that intercourse, of which

com-

commerce is the chief means. So long as *trade* is conducted with *integrity*, it must produce a strong connexion and harmony, such as constitute an universal commonwealth, among the whole race of mankind.

CHAP. XI.

Difference in opinion, no reason for animosity among fellow-citizens.

WITH regard to the naturalization proposed, we are told by the author of the *Considerations*, that "the conduct of the m——
 " shewed all along they thought the
 " method right, and therefore sup-
 " ported it; yet, 'twas always vi-
 " sible, that altho' they thought it
 " right, they were not solicitous to
 " pass it against the general appro-
 " bation, but left the whole to the
 " people's

“ people’s inclinations; perhaps the
 “ petition of the corporation, deter-
 “ mined the h— of c— to support
 “ and vindicate the conduct of both
 “ houses of parliament, by passing
 “ the bill; and thereby proving to
 “ the public, that the suggestions of
 “ that petition were groundless, and
 “ the parliament incapable even of
 “ listening to a proposal, which could
 “ bear such hard constructions.”

It is a subject too delicate for my
 pen, nor is the discussion of it essen-
 tial to my argument. I will however
 be so *free* to observe *in general*, that
 the spirit of a *free* nation *may* some-
 times shew itself, either on the part
 of the *people*, or of their *constituents*,
 in a *fierce* and *imperious* air. But it
 may also *appear* to be so, when it
really is not; and when, *nothing more*
is meant than to *plead*, or to *reject* a
 cause,

cause, with confidence in its worth, or demerit. Indeed *nothing more can possibly be meant*, where a *due* respect is intended to be paid to the *sacred* character of *liberty*; since *passion* may easily *fully*, but *reason* only can preserve it *pure* and *inviolate*.

If in the remonstrances made by a particular society of men, no words are used but such as immediately regard the thing objected to; allowances ought to be made, and *harsh constructions* of words which will admit of *favorable ones*, avoided. *Infallibility is not the attribute of man*. It may be presumed, that as far as human wisdom will carry us, and human passions suffer us to go, the resolutions of a numerous body in their legislative capacity, will be removed the farthest from error. But to consider *men* and *things* as they *really*

are, great allowances must be made for human imperfections, in all the various situations and circumstances of life. Under such a *constitution* as ours, though the legislature is always supposed to be the best judge of what is for the *good* of the people ; though the power vested in them renders it their duty to be constant and steady in the pursuit of that interest : yet, in every case of a *complex* nature, which may appear to be but imperfectly understood, either *within doors* or *without* ; or which in the minutest point touches religion ; the *suspension* of a resolution *seems* best calculated to *guard* that honor, of which every body of men in their legislative capacity *ought* to be jealous.

As to the different opinions which have prevailed among ourselves, in our private capacities ; they are a con-

consideration of a distinct nature, on account of which the *Jews* ought not to receive any *good* or *harm*. We are under a wise and free government ; we have constituted a legislature ; to this we *ought*, to this we *must* appeal, as the arbitrator of all differences.

Several merchants of importance, with no small number of packers, dyers, and tradesmen, did sign a petition in favor of the *Jews* ; from whence it hath been inferred, that the *naturalization* proposed is a right measure, as it *may*, or, as they say, “ will encourage persons of wealth “ and substance, to remove with their “ effects from foreign parts into this “ kingdom ; the greatest part of “ which, agreeably to the experience “ of former times, will be employed “ by them in foreign trade and com- “ merce, in encreasing the shipping,

“ and encouraging the exportation of
 “ woollens, and other manufactures
 “ of this kingdom ; of which the
 “ *Jews* have for many years exported
 “ great quantities.” Many of the mer-
 chants were, doubtless, of this opini-
 on, but neither of the petitions, *for*
or against, creates any difference in
 the weight of the argument, as the
case now stands.

The applications made on this oc-
 casion may, however, instruct us in
one material point ; that the genius of
 this nation is, to be either too much
asleep, or too much *awakened*. Ex-
 tremes are ever dangerous. The *ef-*
forts of passion, however, do some-
 times operate more effectually, than
 the *calmer* dictates of reason, and we
 see the most *beneficial designs* brought
 to a happy issue, by means not con-
 sistent with wisdom. But it is very
 The clear,

clear, that neither the *vociferations* of some, nor the *mistaken zeal* of others, do enervate the force of the argument *against* the *naturalization*. And if our design is to *convince* the *understandings* of men, and not to *inflame* their *passions*, we ought to return to our cooler deliberations, without regard to *private interest*, or *party zeal*. We may observe however, that if the *voice of the people* can, with any propriety, be said to be *the voice of God*, it is only when that voice is *free*. I now take the liberty to say, that the *freedom of voice* was most in favor of those who petitioned *against* the *naturalization*. The connexions of many of the petitioners in favor of the *Jews*, are very obvious; therefore, without calling their *probity* in question, they must be *supposed* to *lean* to the side of their interest.

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The petitioners *against* the *Jewish* naturalization, were not only more numerous, but *in general* more considerable with regard to their situation in life, and more *important* in point of fortune. I know several of them who are men of great *probity*, and possessed of very *large estates*; and, what is more, *friends* to the *administration*, and in good *correspondence* with the *Jews*. What has been suggested to the contrary of this, can be easily proved to be absurd and groundless, tending rather to inflame than to compose men's spirits.

In the mean while, our differences in opinion, ought by no means to create the least animosity amongst us as fellow-citizens: we should rather mutually gratulate each other, on the common liberty of declaring our sentiments. There is an equal right on the

the *one side*, to give their opinion in favor of the *naturalization*, as on the *other* to argue against it: and who can doubt there being many honest and sensible men on both sides the question? As to the *riches* on either side, though I have been in some measure constrained to drop a few words on this subject; I look on them as little to the purpose, as the maintaining that *he* only can have the *best* of an argument, who is *richer* than his antagonist.

Since it is confessedly the *union of the whole*, which gives strength to the *parts*, it is most clearly our duty upon the principles of self-love, to cultivate a good understanding among ourselves. At the same time we ought to consider, that as it is the *freedom* of our government, which in a great measure renders our minds
free;

free; that very *freedom* must almost necessarily create a variety of sentiments. As free-born subjects, we should study the *art* of rendering the different opinions of *individuals*, productive of the firmer establishment of the *community*. For this reason I was sorry when I heard it proposed, to *publish* a list of the subscribers of the petition against the *naturalization*. What doth it avail, who were *for*, or who *against* it? If it was a *wrong* measure it may be presumed that it will not take place. Those who can support their opinion, must *thank God* that they *judged right*; and those who were *mistaken*, be *equally thankful* that their *mistake* has not produced any evil consequence.

Abstracted from the fear of the coercive power vested in lawgivers, there is a *reverence* due to them,
which

which a *free people* can never violate without injuring *themselves*. Where the liberty of *remonstrance* is permitted from the very *nature and essence* of a constitution, the *greater care* ought to be taken, to conduct *such remonstrance* with propriety. When the liberty of declaring our opinion, is not restrained by such considerations, it is apt to degenerate; and that which was originally the produce of *sentiment, generosity, and public love*, may become mean and servile; *instrumental* only to *faction*, or *productive* only of those *low party views*, against which it was at *first* directed.

In *general*, I am afraid our *corruption* has warped our *understandings* as well as our *affections*; but there is yet a great deal of virtue and good sense in the nation; and consequently we can differ in sentiments, and yet

D d

support

support a good correspondence amongst individuals. To draw good out of evil, and convert our very foibles into a happiness, we may teach ourselves, that as *truth* is oftentimes not to be discovered without great labor and attention; so under this imperfect state of things, the support and defence of *liberty*, require great care and circumspection. Whatever motives of self love, and private interest, set mankind to work; without a certain portion of virtuous incentives, *liberty* cannot exist. The various complicated evil motives of men, blended and intermixed with the good, may indeed tend to the great ends of providence, and do often demonstrate by visible consequences, that there is an invisible power which governs the world, and superintends all the affairs of human life.

It

It has been often remarked by foreigners*, that we pay dear in this
D d 2 island

* If we apply this remark to a neighboring nation, our thoughts will naturally lead us into a consideration of their present circumstances. As some of the French make their observations concerning our being a check upon each other, as indeed how can it be otherwise, the most intelligent among them see us with an eye of admiration, and a longing desire of becoming what we are, with all our defects, with all the alloys of our felicity. I have heard it remarked of us, that we are a reasoning people, a nation of philosophers. "What," say they, "shall we not applaud that nation, who, from the nature of their constitution, and the sentiments in which they are educated, are themselves the defenders of their own laws; and the bulwarks of their own liberty? who reason upon things, and from whose mouths, sometimes even of the lower classes, we hear it said, "this is not according to the nature of things", thereby implying such a sense of right as can, by the force of reason alone, maintain liberty, against those encroachments, which the passions and bad affections of men are apt to conjure up." We see plainly in arbitrary governments, however arduous the struggle may be for liberty; yet it requires such a portion of virtue and resolution diffused through a whole nation, as, in these days of corruption, can hardly be expected. Let us learn to prize, what we already enjoy; and tremble at the thought of putting it to any precarious issue, should any future times produce men, who have the dangerous art of leading their fellow citizens in silken strings into slavery; let us fly from those who, by gratifying our
bad

inland for the *liberty* we enjoy, inas-
 much as we are perpetually alarmed,
 and those who live under arbitrary
 governments; but they forget that
bad inclinations, may arrive at the power of rendering all
 our *good ones* useless.

What the fate of our neighbors will be, *time* must de-
 monstrate. We see the noble stand a great part of them
 make against an *usurped authority*, which strives to trample
 on their *laws*. How bravely they struggle against *papal*
pride ! It is this *pride* which favoring the ambition of
 the greatest part of the churchmen, attempts to undermine
 the general freedom of the nation, with regard to *civil*,
 as well as *ecclesiastical* government. Thus, by the ma-
 gic force of the word *Unigenitus*, the little freedom of
 mind which they enjoyed, in religious concerns, is
 abridged; and an *implicit* obedience imposed, to
 which the people are not *inclined* to submit. We
 may date the contest so long since as 1714, when
 the bull *Unigenitus* was sent into *France*, and received
 by many ecclesiastics. But at length this business is be-
 come more and more serious.

Now we behold the spiritual pride of *French prelates* en-
 deavoring to trample upon temporal authority, and in pur-
 suit of power to violate those laws which the wisdom of
 past ages, joined to experience, have given a sanction.
 The clergy, for the most part, aim at the destruction of
 that authority, which though but a *feeble* guardiau of the
 laws, has been the chief means of preserving them. Per-
 secution has a natural tendency to rouse the spirits of
 men. Thus we shall, probably, see the power and au-
 thority of *parliaments* in *France*, confirmed and established

and continually on the watch to *check* each other. This remark is excusable from those who live under arbitrary governments ; but they forget that the *mind* of man must be always employed. That we are educated in those principles, which lead us to think *liberty* the greatest of all earthly blessings, the *choicest* favour of a most indulgent providence. That every *thinking* man in a *free state*, will form a judgment with regard to the

to a degree that shall render them *respectable* : or, that military force will dictate to them the limits of a *precarious jurisdiction* : or, lastly, that the very *name* of parliaments will be totally *abolished*.

Whilst we are thus contemplating *this scene*, so interesting to our neighbors, let us not forget to reverence those *laws*, and respect those *lawgivers*, whose common interest and inclination are to *protect* and *defend* us ; and prevent our ever falling into such circumstances as our neighbors. It is the fortune of the *French*, that *they* can be but *little* worse than they were before ; except that the *view* they now have of the *charms* of *liberty*, must necessarily create a love-sick mind, if they are deprived of the object they hope to enjoy : this I say may be the case *till* their chains shall again become familiar,

the government of that state in which he has so direct an interest. Thus *some* exercise their *virtue* in the contemplation of liberty. *Some* make it their amusement, to find fault of the conduct of a legislature *at a venture*. *Some* have an interest in declaiming, on one side or other, and sometimes on both. In short in a greater or less degree, we all exercise our *good* or *bad* affections, and show our *understanding* or our *ignorance*.

It is so very clear, that our common preservation depends upon our *union* and *obedience to laws*, that it may seem *absurd* to insist on it. Yet we have lately seen that it sometimes becomes *necessary* in this nation, to remind ourselves that the *spirit* which leads men to *restrain* their *passions*, and to *exert* their *reason* to distinguish
good

good from evil, is the only means of administering that *healing balm*, on which the *happiness*, as well as the *safety* of life depends.

It must be clear also to the understanding of every *thinking honest man*, whatever his *engagements* may be, that the *opposition* of a design which is *contrary* to a man's principles; *repugnant* to his ideas of *good and evil*; or *clashing* with his *notions* of *true politics* is; as *different* from an *opposition*, excited by a party zeal *against* those who compose a legislature, as *light* from *darkness*; or as the love of *liberty* and *concord*, from *faction* and an *impious contempt* of *laws*. Yet I know not how it comes to pass, nor how difficult it may be to obtain credit; but I have sometimes heard it seriously maintained, *that he who is not for us, is against*

us : implying that *power* can be supported only by *strength*, and therefore those who share the *emoluments* of that *power*, must pay an implicit obedience to it. Thus " he who declares not for us," tho' he should be ever so true to his own heart, acts counter to that authority by means of which the *government* is conducted. Surely this *can* never be the case in our *happy isle* ! If it were really so, we might cry out, wretched condition of our morals ! precarious state of liberty ! If *place* and *office* were indeed the objects to which we paid these divine honors, and not the *wisdom*, *truth*, and *justice* which support and conduct them, the very *minds* of men would in time become enslaved. The *characters* of *lawgivers* and *magistrates* would no longer be the objects of our *rational love*, nor excite our *pious veneration*. Their

~~authority~~ would depend, neither on
~~their~~ *virtue*, nor ~~their~~ *wisdom*; nor
 would they receive any *encourage-*
~~ment~~ from the *applause* of either.
 Whilst *some* yielded up their freedom,
~~others~~ who disdained the *precept*,
 might impute every public measure
 to *private interest*. The *envious*
 would counteract from the mere ef-
 fect of *envy*. And thus, one *party*
 always refusing to acquiesce; by an
 unavoidable consequence, would *in-*
~~discriminately~~ oppose measures, the
 most *apparently* productive of good,
 in *common* with those of a *dubious*,
 or *evil tendency*.

I hope the *most experienced* have
 never been, nor ever will be specta-
 tors of *such a scene* in this nation,
 whatever the *dissoluteness* of some, or
 the prejudices and *injudicious com-*
~~plaints~~ of others, may suggest to the

credulous. For if such a maxim should be ever countenanced, what part could a philosopher, or a christian, a friend to his fellow-citizens, or a lover of his country act with applause? Would he content himself to lament the evil in secret? Let him exert all his strength, and vigilance, however inconsiderable, to preserve that which his principles call on him to defend, and when he leaves this theatre of action, to explore another scene of things, let the remembrance of his own sincerity compose the agitations of his soul. Let his last and devoutest prayer express his gratitude for the pleasures which he has enjoyed, and yet feels in his breast, from doing what he thought was right; and leave the rest to heaven.

Let us now drop these visionary arguments, or draw a curtain over them,

them, if any part is *more than visionary*. Let us come to *facts and real life*: and here I have to observe, that the *regard and indulgence* shewn to the merchants who appeared at the *bar of the house of commons*, notwithstanding they pleaded *against the naturalization*, was such, as gave me the *bighest impressions*, not only of the *excellency and happiness* of this constitution, but also of the *equity and moderation* with which the present government is conducted. What these merchants alledged was expressed with decency, and without the least *appearance of enmity* towards the *Jews*. They were not prepared as they *ought* to have been; but this is a proof that they were not moved by any *sinister* motives. They expressed their *fears* that injurious impressions would be received *abroad*. Those *fears* were then considered as

chimerical; but *experience*, as I have had occasion to explain, hath *already* given them a *sanction*.

I hope there was no set of men who kept themselves in *reserve* to see the issue of the affair, with a view to draw any *advantage* from it; but *if* there *was* any such, I can answer for the merchants, that they were no part of the number: I speak of those with whom I am most acquainted, who if they are not *courtiers*, are *well-wishers* to the *chief rulers* of the state; and if they are not led by private interest, but only *biaſſed* by opinion and sentiment, they cannot *upon that account* be subject to any imputation of *disaffection*. They *wished* the bill might not pass, but after it *was* passed into a *law*, they neither wrote nor spoke *factiously*. The arguments in support of this bill,

bill, indeed still appeared to them to be ill-grounded ; but they were not the *less sensible* that the *honor* and *dignity* of the legislature ought to suffer no diminution, by any *distinction* of those whose opinions were *divided* upon the subject. If *experience* should give a *sanction* to the opinion they had conceived ; they would not therefore make pretensions to more knowledge than what their opportunities of information had given them ; much less would they convert that *knowledge* into *folly*, by prostituting it to unworthy purposes. And as the *common good* was the object in pursuit on both sides the question, they concluded that whatever measures might be *further taken*, every consideration which *clashed* with the *public harmony*, ought to be *absorbed*, as *dishonorable* to *liberty*, and *utterly inconsistent* with
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the true and genuine motives of their conduct.

What has passed in *this* affair seems now to invite us to peruse with attention what I have quoted from a *pious prelate*, in page 122, and to reflect very seriously how far these *unhappy* people, the *Jews*, may have suffered by their *own indiscretion*. Thus, without harshly imputing to them as a *fault*, that which in *charity* may be considered as a *misfortune*, endeavor, as much as possible, to place them in the same, or a better situation than they were in, before the event which is the subject of these sheets. If any *interested* advocate of the *Jews*, or others who are *biased* by opinion, or humanity, should now say of me, *This man writes as if he repented having appeared against the naturalization*, I only appeal to what

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I have written ; I appeal to the declarations *I always made*, if I have given the least token of indulging any habit of inhumanity, or want of tenderness for the *Jews* as my fellow-creatures ?

The *prejudices* which have been entertained, the *books* and *papers* which have been written, not being *all* directed by a *proper spirit*, must have operated to the *hurt* of these people. We ought, therefore, to endeavor to screen them from the *evils* they may suffer ; not by *such indulgencies* as they *aspired at*, but by considering them as *strangers*, or in *poverty* : consequently it becomes our duty to exercise our *politeness*, our *hospitality*, our *humanity*. And because every man of *observation* must see, that the *itinerant Jews*, who are permitted to travel about the same as usual, are at this time but *ill received*
by

by our *common people*; and every man of *sentiment* must know, that by *rejecting* them, we may easily deviate from the precepts of our religion, as well as the dictates of humanity; therefore he ought, both in *word* and *deed*, to endeavor to persuade those who are *bi-
assed* by their prejudices, that whilst they contend for the support of that *system of politics*, which is most productive of *our own* preservation, we ought by all means to remember that *system of morals* which relates to *others*. And as our future happiness depends on the government of our *passions*, and the *exercise* of that *benevolence* which our religion inculcates, we ought to regulate the *one*, and cultivate and improve the *other*.

To conclude, if *policy*, or *wisdom*, lose their names, and become *weakness* and *folly* when opposed to
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the great designs of providence, which is the happiness of *all* his creatures, every noble sentiment which the *understanding* can *dictate*; every generous thought which the *heart* can *inspire*; every worthy action which the *hand* can *execute*, ought to be subservient to that *great end*. Thus when we shall be *removed* from this *inconstant scene*, the world, may we *all* arrive at the fruition of those *immutable joys which are the certain rewards of a genuine love of liberty and a virtuous life!*

F I N I S.

the great object of provision which
is the object of the law
there every man is bound which
look upon it as a duty
to provide for which the law
does not require every man
when the law is made
the law is made
the law is made
A D. M. H. L. O. R. Y.
the law is made
the law is made
ARGUMENTATIVE, &c.

THE LAW IS MADE
THE LAW IS MADE